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AN ELEMENTARY
OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

BY

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PREFACE

THIS Elementary Old English Grammar is in a great measure an abridgement of our larger work on the subject. In order to render the book more suitable for beginners we have omitted many philological details both in the phonology and the accidence. On the other hand some new details have been embodied, and the whole material has been considerably rearranged. To the student about to embark on the study of Old English we cannot give better advice than that stated in the preface to the larger Grammar, viz. 'From our long experience as teachers of the subject, we should strongly recommend the beginner not to work through the phonology at the outset, but to read Chapter I and paragraphs 45-64 (omitting the notes), and then to learn the paradigms, and at the same time to read some easy texts such as are to be found in any of the Old English Readers. This is undoubtedly the best plan in the end, and will lead to the most satisfactory results. In fact, it is in our opinion a sheer waste of time for a student to attempt to study in detail the phonology of any language before he has acquired a good working know-

ledge of its vocabulary and inflexions.' If this little book helps to lighten his labours in acquiring an accurate knowledge of Old English, and arouses his interest in the subject, so as to lead him on to the study of larger works, we shall feel ourselves amply rewarded for our labours.

JOSEPH WRIGHT.

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ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

Dor.	= Doric	NE.	= New English
Germ.	= Germanic	NIIG.	= New High German
Goth.	= Gothic	Nth.	= Northumbrian
Gr.	= Greek	OE.	= Old English
Indg.	= Indo-Germanic	OHG.	= Old High German
instr.	= instrumental	O.Icel.	= Old Icelandic
Ken.	= Kentish	OS.	= Old Saxon
Lat.	= Latin	Prim.	= Primitive
loc.	= locative	Skr.	= Sanskrit
ME.	= Middle English	WS.	= West Saxon
MHG.	= Middle High German		

The asterisk * prefixed to a word denotes a theoretical form, as OE. *dæg*, *day*, from prim. Germanic **ǣgaz*.

For the sound-values of the letters *þ*, *ǣ*, *ȝ*, *χ* used in the writing of prehistoric forms, see § 107, note 4.

The paragraphs referring to the *OE. Grammar* are to those of the second edition.

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. OLD ENGLISH is a member of the West Germanic division of the Germanic (Teutonic) branch of the Indo-Germanic family of languages. •

The Germanic branch consists of:—

1. **Gothic**. Almost the only source of our knowledge of the Gothic language is the fragments of the biblical translation made in the fourth century by Ulfilas (b. about 311 A.D., d. 383), the Bishop of the West Goths.

2. **Old Norse** (Scandinavian), which is subdivided into two groups: (a) East Norse, including Swedish, Gutnish, and Danish; (b) West Norse, including Norwegian and Icelandic.

The oldest records of this branch are the runic inscriptions, some of which date as far back as the third or fourth century.

3. **West Germanic**, which is composed of:—

(a) High German, the oldest monuments of which belong to about the middle of the eighth century.

(b) Low Franconian, called Old Low Franconian or Old Dutch until about 1200.

(c) Low German, with records dating back to the ninth century. Up to about 1200 it is generally called Old Saxon.

(d) Friesian, the oldest records of which belong to the fourteenth century.

(e) English, the oldest records of which belong to about the end of the seventh century.

§ 2. The division of a language into fixed periods must of necessity be more or less arbitrary. What are given as the characteristics of one period have generally had their beginnings in the previous period, and it is impossible to say with perfect accuracy when one period begins and another ends. For

practical purposes Old English may be conveniently divided into two periods: early Old English from about 700 to 900; and late Old English from 900 to 1100.

§ 3. The oldest records of OE. exhibit clearly defined dialectal peculiarities which have been dealt with in the phonology, so that the student can easily collect together for himself the chief characteristics of each dialect. In this grammar early West Saxon is taken as the standard of OE., and is treated in greater detail than the other dialects. In using OE. poetry for grammatical purposes the student should remember that it was for the most part originally written in the Anglian dialect, but that it has come down to us chiefly in late West Saxon copies which contain many Anglian forms. OE. is usually divided into four dialects:—

(a) Northumbrian, embracing the district between the Firth of Forth and the Humber.

(b) Mercian, between the Humber and the Thames.

(c) West Saxon, south of the Thames, except Kent and Surrey.

(d) Kentish, embracing Kent and Surrey.

Northumbrian and Mercian are often classed together and called Anglian.

Even in the oldest recorded OE. there was of course no such thing as a uniform Northumbrian, Mercian, West Saxon, or Kentish dialect. Within each principal division there must have been some or many sub-dialects, and this is one of the main reasons why we find certain phonological peculiarities in texts ascribed to one or other of the four principal dialects. So-called phonological irregularities sometimes also arose from copyists introducing into manuscripts forms peculiar to their own dialect, or in transcribing manuscripts from one dialect into another they sometimes left dialect forms peculiar to their original; and in transcribing manuscripts from e. g. early WS. into late WS. forms belonging to the older period were often copied.

PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER I

ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION

§ 4. OE. was written in the British modified form of the Latin alphabet with the addition of þ and ƿ (= w) from the runic alphabet. Vowel length was mostly omitted in writing, but in the case of long vowels it was sometimes represented by doubling the vowel or by using the diacritic sign ´, as *huus*, *hús*, *house*. The sign ¯, placed over vowels, is used in this grammar to mark long vowels and diphthongs.

A. THE VOWELS.

§ 5. The OE. vowel-system was represented by the six elementary letters *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *y*, the ligatures *æ*, *œ*, and the digraphs *ea*, *eo*, *io*, and *ie*, the latter having the value of diphthongs. They all had both a short and a long quantity.

a had the same sound as the *a* in NHG. *ab*, *gast*, as *assa*, *donkey*; *dagas*, *days*; *hara*, *hare*. *a* before nasals was probably a low-back-wide vowel like the *a* as pronounced in many Scottish dialects in such words as *ant*, *man*, which English people often mistake for *o*, especially when lengthened. In OE. it was accordingly often written *o* and may be pronounced like the *o* in NE. *not*, as *land*, *lond*, *land*; *mann*, *monn*, *man*; *nama*, *noma*, *name*.

ā had the same sound as the *a* in NE. *father*, as *ān*, *one*; *cnāwan*, *to know*; *twā*, *two*.

æ had the same sound as the *a* in NE. *hat*, as *æt*, *at*; *fæder*, *father*; *mægden*, *maiden*.

ǣ had the same sound as the *ai* in NE. *air*, and the *è* in French *père*, as *ǣnig*, *any*; *sǣd*, *seed*; *sǣ*, *sea*.

e had the same sound as the *e* in NE. *end*, *west*, as *etan*, *to eat*; *helpan*, *to help*; *mete*, *meat*.

ē had the same sound as the *e* in NHG. *reh*, as *hēr*, *here*; *cwēn*, *queen*; *tēþ*, *teeth*.

i had the same sound as the *i* in NE. *sit*, as *ic*, *I*; *sittan*, *to sit*; *niman*, *to take*.

ī had the same sound as the *i* in NHG. *ihn*¹, and nearly the same sound as the *ee* in NE. *feed*, as *īs*, *ice*; *bītan*, *to bite*; *fif*, *five*.

o had the same sound as the *o* in NE. *not*, as *oxa*, *ox*; *nosu*, *nose*; *dohtor*, *daughter*.

ō had the same sound as the *o* in NHG. *bote*, and the *eau* in French *beau*, as *ōþer*, *other*; *sōna*, *soon*.

u had the same sound as the *u* in NE. *put*, as *under*, *under*; *full*, *full*; *duru*, *door*.

ū had the same sound as the *ou* in French *sou*, and nearly the same sound as the *oo* in NE. *food*, as *ūt*, *out*; *sūcan*, *to suck*; *cū*, *cow*.

œ had the same sound as the *ö* in NHG. *götter*, as *œxen*, *oxen*; *dat. dœhter*, *to a daughter*.

ō̅ had the same sound as the *ö* in NIIG. *schön*, as *bō̅c*, *books*; *dō̅ma(n)*, *to judge*.

y had the same sound as the *ü* in NHG. *mütter*, as *yfel*, *evil*; *þyncan*, *to seem*.

ȳ had the same sound as the *ü* in NIIG. *grün*, as *ȳþ*, *wave*; *hȳdan*, *to hide*.

It is difficult to determine what was the precise pronunciation of the *a*, *e*, *o* in the second element of diphthongs. In these combinations they had the function of consonants and may be pronounced as very short unstressed *ǣ*, *ē*, *ō*. The first element of the diphthongs *ea*, *ēa* was a very open sound like the *æ* in OE. *fæder*, and the *a* in NE. *hat*, but the *e* in the diphthongs *eo*, *ēo* was like the *e* in NE. *bed* or like the close *é* in French

été. In the long diphthongs each of the elements was longer than in the short diphthongs.

$\text{ea} = \text{æ} + \text{ǣ}$, as *eall*, *all*; *wearm*, *uarm*; *hleahor*, *laughter*; *weaxan*, *to grow*.

$\text{ēa} = \text{ā} + \text{a}$, as *ēage*, *eye*; *hlēapan*, *to leap*; *strēa*, *straw*.

$\text{eo} = \text{e} + \text{ö}$, as *eorpe*, *earth*; *meolcan*, *to milk*; *sweostor*, *sister*.

$\text{ēo} = \text{ē} + \text{o}$, as *dēop*, *deep*; *sēon*, *to see*; *cnēo*, *knee*.

$\text{ie} = \text{i} + \text{ē}$, as *ieldra*, *older*; *giest*, *guest*; *hierde*, *shepherd*.

$\text{īe} = \text{ī} + \text{e}$, as *hīeran*, *to hear*; *liehtan*, *to give light*; *nīewe*, *new*.

$\text{io} = \text{i} + \text{ö}$, as *mioluc*, *miole*, *milk*; *liornian*, *to learn*.

$\text{īo} = \text{ī} + \text{o}$, as *frīond*, *friend*; *liode*, *people*.

From what has been said above we arrive at the following OE. vowel-system:—

Short vowels *a*, *æ*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *œ*, *y*

Long vowels *ā*, *ǣ*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*, *œ̄*, *ȳ*

Short diphthongs *ea*, *eo*, *ie*, *io*

Long diphthongs *ēa*, *ēo*, *īe*, *īo*

NOTE.—1. *æ* was often written *æ*, *ȳ* in the oldest records. In the oldest period of the language there must have been two short *e*-sounds, viz. *e* = Germanic *e* (§ 31), and *e* = the *i*-umlaut of *æ* (§ 57), the latter probably being more open than the former, but the two sounds seem to have fallen together at a very early date, and are accordingly not distinguished in this grammar. Some scholars distinguish them by writing the former *e* and the latter *ȳ*. And in like manner they also sometimes distinguish the *o* = Germanic *o* (§ 23), and the *o* = Germanic *a* before nasals (§ 46), by writing the former *o* and the latter *ȳ*. In late OE. *e*, *y* were often written for *æ*, *i* and vice versa. In Ken. *ǣ* was sometimes written in mistake for *ē*, as *ætān* = *etan*, *to eat*; *hǣr* = *hēr*, *here*. In late Nth. *æ*, *œ*, *y* were sometimes written *ai*, *oi*, *ui*. *œ̄*, *œ̄* (§ 57), written *oe* in OE. manuscripts, were best preserved in the Anglian dialects. They were unrounded to *e*, *ē* in WS. about the end of the ninth and in Ken. about the end of the tenth century. Long *ī* was sometimes written *ig* finally and occasionally also medially, as *hig* = *hī*, *they*; *bigspell* = *bispell*, *parable*. The *ō* in words like *gōs*, *goose* (§ 50), and *mōna*, *moon* (§ 49), must originally have been an open *ō* like the *a* in NE. *all*, but it

fell together with Germanic long close \bar{o} (§ 39) at an early period. The diphthong $\bar{e}a$ was sometimes written $\bar{e}a$, $\bar{e}o$ in the oldest records. $\bar{e}o$ was often written for $\bar{i}o$ in the oldest WS. For $\bar{e}o$ of whatever origin Nth. often has $\bar{e}a$; and Ken. often has $\bar{i}a$ ($\bar{y}a$) for WS. $\bar{e}a$, $\bar{e}o$, $\bar{i}o$. In late WS. the combinations $\bar{e}w$, $\bar{e}w$, of whatever origin, were often written $\bar{e}aw$, $\bar{e}ow$. The combination $\bar{e}aw$ was occasionally written $\bar{e}uw$, $\bar{e}uu$, $\bar{e}u$, $\bar{e}w$ in Anglian. $\bar{i}e$ and $\bar{i}e$ occur chiefly in WS. After $\bar{i}e$ had regularly become \bar{i} in WS. the $\bar{i}e$ was sometimes wrongly written for old \bar{i} .

2. A diphthong may be defined as the combination of a sonantal with a consonantal vowel. It is called a falling or a rising diphthong according as the stress is upon the first or second element. The OE. diphthongs were generally falling diphthongs, but the diphthongs which arose from the influence of initial palatal c , g , sc (§ 56) upon a following palatal vowel, were originally rising diphthongs which at a later period became falling diphthongs through the shifting of the stress from the second to the first element of the diphthong.

B. THE CONSONANTS.

§ 6. The OE. consonant-system was represented by the following letters: b , c , d , f , g , h , k , l , m , n , p , r , s , t , \bar{p} , ($\bar{\theta}$), $*w$, x .

v (written u) and z (= ts) were very rarely used except occasionally in late loanwords. c , cc , nc , sc ; g , ng ; and h (except initially), hh were guttural (back) or palatal (front) according to the sound-law stated in § 166. On the vocalic liquids and nasals in OE. see § 96.

Of the above letters b , d , l , m , n , p , t had the same sound-values as in Modern English. The remaining letters require special attention.

c . Guttural or back c , sometimes written k in the oldest oldest records, was pronounced nearly like the c in NE. *could*. Palatal or front c (often written ce before a following guttural vowel) was pronounced nearly like the k in NE. *kid*. In the OE. runic alphabet the two k -sounds had separate characters. Examples of guttural c are: *cēlan*, *to cool*; *cyssan*, *to kiss*; *cnēo*, *knee*; *sprecen*, *to speak*; *bōc*, *book*; *weorc*, *work*; *bucca*, *he-goat*; *drincan*, *to drink*; *þancian*, *to thank*; and of palatal c :

cinn, *chin*; cīese, *cheese*; cōosan, *to choose*; bēc, *books*; crycc, *crutch*; benc, *bench*; þenc(e)an, *to think*; of sc: sceal, *shall*; scēap, *sheep*; scōh, *shoe*; wascan, *to wash*; fisc, *fish*. See §§ 166–7.

f. Initially, finally, and medially before voiceless consonants, also when doubled, f was a voiceless spirant like the f in NE. fit, shaft, as fæder, *father*; ceaf, *chaff*; sceaft, *shaft*; pyffan, *to puff*. Medially between voiced sounds it was a voiced spirant (often written þ in the oldest records) nearly like the v in NE. vine, five, as giefan, *to give*; seofon, *seven*; wulfas, *wolves*; hræfn, *raven*; lifde, *he lived*. See §§ 139, 158.

g was used to represent several different sounds: (a) a guttural or back and a palatal or front explosive; (b) a guttural and a palatal spirant which had separate characters in the OE. runic alphabet. The palatal explosive and the palatal spirant were often written ge before a following guttural vowel with e to indicate the palatal nature of the g.

Before guttural vowels initial g was a guttural explosive and was pronounced like the g in NE. good, but in the oldest OE. it was a guttural spirant like the g often heard in NHG. sagen (cp. § 168), as gāst, *spirit*; god, *God*. Before palatal vowels initial g was a palatal spirant nearly like the j in NHG. jahr and the y in NE. ye, yon, as geaf, *he gave*; giefan, *to give*; geoc, *yoke*.

Medial gg was always a guttural explosive like the g in NE. good, as dogga, *dog*; stagga, *stag*. Medial and final eg was a palatal explosive nearly like the g in NE. give, as leog(e)an, *to lay*; seeg(e)an, *to say*; brycg, *bridge*. The g in medial and final ng was a guttural or a palatal explosive, the former being nearly like the g in NE. longer, as sungon, *they sang*; hungor, *hunger*; lang, *long*; and the latter nearly like the g in NE. finger, as lengra, *longer*; streng, *string*; þing, *thing*.

Medial intervocalic g was a guttural or a palatal spirant, the former being nearly like the g in NHG. sagen, as boga, *bow*; fugol, *bird*; lagu, *law*; and the latter nearly like the g in NHG.

siegen, as *bieg(e)an*, to bend; *fæger*, fair; *hyge*, mind; and similarly with final *g*, as *dāg*, dough; *plōg*, plough; *mearg*, marrow; beside *dæg*, day; *weg*, way; *bodig*, body. See § 170.

NOTE.—*ȝ* is generally used for *g* in OE. manuscripts, and often also in printed texts and grammars. In this grammar *ȝ* is only used to represent the prim. Germanic voiced spirant (§§ 112, 115).

h. Initial *h* (except in the combination *hw*) was an aspirate like the *h* in NE. *hand*, as *hūs*, house; *hlūd*, loud; *hring*, ring. Initial *hw* was pronounced *χw* like the *wh* in many Scottish dialects as *hwā?*, who?; *hwāte*, wheat. In all other positions *h*, including *hh*, was a guttural or a palatal spirant, the former being like the *ch* in NHG. *nacht*, noch, as *dohtor*, daughter; *eahta*, eight; *crohha*, crock, pot; *scōh*, shoe; *holh*, hollow; *furh*, furrow; and the latter like the *ch* in NHG. *nicht*, *ich*, as *flyht*, flight; *siehþ*, he sees; *hliehhan*, to laugh. See §§ 173–6. In the oldest records final *h* was sometimes written *ch*, as *elch* = *eolh*, elk.

k was sometimes used to express the guttural *c* (see above), as *kynn*, race, generation; *knēo*, knee.

r was trilled in all positions as in modern Scottish, as *rīdan*, to ride; *duru*, door; *word*, word; *fæder*, father.

s. Initially, finally, medially before voiceless consonants, and when doubled, *s* was a voiceless spirant like the *s* in NE. *sit*, as *sunu*, son; *standan*, to stand; *sweostor*, sister; *hūs*, house; *dagas*, days; *cyssan*, to kiss. Medially between voiced sounds, it was a voiced spirant like the *s* in NE. *rise*, as *cēosan*, to choose; *nosu*, nose; *bōsm*, bosom; *ōsle*, ousel.

þ. Initially, medially when doubled, and finally *þ* was a voiceless spirant like the *th* in NE. *thin*, as *þencan*, to think; *þwang*, thong; *moppe*, moth; *mūþ*, mouth; *mōnaþ*, month. Medially between voiced sounds, it was a voiced spirant like the *th* in NE. *then*, as *baþian*, to bathe; *brōþor*, brother; *eorþe*, earth; *fæþm*, fathom.

NOTE.—Initial **p** was written **th** until about 900 in imitation of Latin. Afterwards it was written **ƿ**, and **p** (borrowed from the runic alphabet). And the voiced spirant was often written **d** in imitation of the contemporary Latin pronunciation.

w had the same sound-value as the **w** in NE. *wet*, as *wæter*, *water*; *wlanc*, *proud*; *writan*, *to write*; *twā*, *two*; *sāwol*, *soul*.

NOTE.—**w** was represented by **uu**, **u** in the oldest records, and then from about the beginning of the ninth century it was generally represented by **ƿ** borrowed from the runic alphabet. In late Nth. it was sometimes represented by **wu**, **v**, and before **ā**, **æ**, **ē** by **wo**, **vo**, **uo**, **o**.

x was pronounced like the **x** in NE. *six*, as *weaxan*, *to grow*; *āxian*, *to ask*; *siex*, *six*.

§ 7. From what has been said above we arrive at the following OE. consonant-system:—

		Labial.	Inter-dental.	Dental.	Gut-tural.	Palatal.
Explosives	{ voiceless	p, pp		t, tt	c, cc	c, cc
	{ voiced	b, bb		d, dd	g, gg	g, cg
Spirants	{ voiceless	f, ff	þ, þþ	s, ss	h, hh	h, hh
	{ voiced	f	þ	s	g	g
Nasals		m, mm		n, nn	n	n
Liquids				l, ll; r, rr		
Semi-vowel		w				

To these must be added the aspirate **h**, and **x**. The double consonants were pronounced long as in Modern Italian and Swedish, thus *habban* = *hab-ban*, *to have*; *swimman* = *swim-man*, *to swim*. From the above table it will be seen that the OE. alphabet was very defective in its consonants, inasmuch as each of the letters **c**, **f**, **g**, **h**, **n**, **s**, and **þ** was used to represent two or more sounds.

STRESS (ACCENT).

§ 8. In the parent Indg. language the chief accent of a word did not always fall upon the same syllable, but was free or movable as in Greek, cp. e.g. Gr. nom. *πατήρ*, *father*, voc. *πάτερ*, acc. *πατέρα*, gen. *πατρός*. This free accent was still pre-

served in prim. Germanic at the time when Verner's law operated (§ 115). At a later period of the prim. Germanic language, the chief accent of a word became confined to the root- or stem-syllable. This confining of the chief accent to the root-syllable was the cause of the great weakening—and eventual loss—which the vowels underwent in unaccented syllables in the prehistoric period of the individual Germanic languages (Ch. IV).

§ 9. The rule for the accentuation of uncompounded words is the same in OE. as in the oldest period of the other Germanic languages, viz. the chief stress fell upon the stem-syllable and always remained there even when inflexional endings and suffixes followed it, as *beran*, *to bear*; *sealfian*, *to anoint*; *dagas*, *days*; *hēafodu*, *heads*; *æpelingas*, *noblemen*; *macode*, *he made*; *maþelode*, *he spoke*; *mistig*, *misty*; *grēting*, *greeting*; *heofonlic*, *heavenly*; *lēofost(a)*, *dearest*; *huntigestre*, *huntress*. The position of the secondary stress in trisyllabic and polysyllabic words fluctuated in OE., and in the present state of our knowledge of the subject it is impossible to formulate any hard and fast rules concerning it.

In compound words it is necessary to distinguish between compounds whose second element is a noun or an adjective, and those whose second element is a verb. In the former case the first element had the chief accent in the parent Indg. language; in the latter case the first element had or had not the chief accent according to the position of the verb in the sentence. But already in prim. Germanic the second element of compound verbs nearly always had the chief accent; a change which was mostly brought about by the compound and simple verb existing side by side. This accounts for the difference in the accentuation of such pairs as *ándgiet*, *intelligence* : *ongíetan*, *to understand*; *ándsaca*, *adversary* : *onsácan*, *to deny*; *bígang*, *practice* : *begángen*, *to practise*; *órþanc*, *device* : *ápéncan*, *to devise*; *úþgegne*, *fugitive* : *opgángen*, *to escape*; *wípersaca*, *opponent* : *wípsácan*, *to oppose*.

§ 10. As has been stated above, compound words, whose second element is a noun or adjective, had originally the chief accent on the first syllable. This simple rule was preserved in OE., as *brȳdguma*, *bridegroom*; *dēapstede*, *death-place*; *æftergield*, *additional payment*; *fēowergield*, *fourfold payment*; *æþelcund*, *of noble origin*; *brynehāt*, *burning hot*; *wordsnotor*, *eloquent*. Nouns like *āliefednes*, *permission*; *onfāngennes*, *reception*; *ongietennes*, *understanding*; *ongínn*, *beginning*, are no exception to the rule, because such nouns were formed direct from the corresponding verbs: pp. *āliefed*, *onfāngen*, *ongieten*, inf. *ongínnan*.

§ 11. Already in the oldest period of the language many nouns and adjectives were formed from verbs containing an inseparable particle, and accordingly had the chief stress on the second element, as *bebod*, *command*; *behāt*, *promise*; *belimp*, *occurrence*; *forhæfednes*, *temperance*; *forlorennes*, *destruction*; *behōfe*, *suitable*. In like manner the prefix *ge-* was already unaccented in the oldest period of the language—probably partly also in prim. Germanic—and therefore words compounded with it had the chief stress on the second element, as *gebrōþor*, *brethren*; *gesceaft*, *creation*; *gemāne*, *common*; *gesund*, *healthy*.

§ 12. In compound nouns and adjectives the chief secondary stress was upon that syllable of the second element which would have the chief stress if it were used alone, as *brȳdgūma*, *bridegroom*; *fēowergield*, *fourfold payment*; *gēarowȳrdig*, *eloquent*. But compounds which were no longer felt as such did not have a strong secondary stress upon the second element, as *ēorod* from *eoh* + *rād*, *troop of cavalry*; *hlāford* from *hlāf* + *weard*, *lord*.

§ 13. In the oldest period of the language, the compound verbs had the chief stress upon the second or first element according as the first element was inseparable or separable, as *becuman*, *to become*; *gebēran*, *to behave*; *forġiefan*, *to forgive*; *opfeallan*, *to fall off*; *tōberstan*, *to burst asunder*; *ætniman*, *to*

deprive; *oferwéorpan*, to overthrow; *underniman*, to comprehend; *purhwūnian*, to abide continuously; *ymbbindan*, to bind round. Verbs like *ándswarian*, to answer; *fúltumian*, to support; *órettan*, to fight, are no exception to the rule, because such verbs were formed direct from the nouns: *ándswaru*, *fúltum*, *óret*. Examples of separable verbs are: *áftersprecan*, to claim; *bístandan*, to support; *éftflōwan*, to flow back; *úr-ræran*, to raise up; *incuman*, to come in; *tódōn*, to put to; *útdrifan*, to drive out. •

§ 14. In compound adverbs the first element had the chief or secondary stress according as it was the more or the less important element of the compound, as *éal(l)mæst*, almost; *éalneg* from *ealne* + *weg*, always; *éalswā*, quite so; but *onwég*, away; *tōgádere*, together; *pærinne*, therein.

CHAPTER II

THE PRIMITIVE GERMANIC EQUIVALENTS OF THE INDO-GERMANIC VOWEL-SOUNDS

§ 15. The parent Indo-Germanic language had the following vowel-system:—

Short vowels	a, e, i, o, u, ɐ
Long	,, , ā, ē, ī, ō, ū
Short diphthongs	ai, ei, oi, au, eu, ou
Long	,, , āi, ēi, ōi, āu, ēu, ōu
Short vocalic	l, m, n, r

NOTE.—1. The short vowels *i, u, ɐ*, the long vowels *ī, ū*, and vocalic *l, m, n, r* occurred originally only in syllables which did not bear the principal accent of the word. See *OE. Grammar*, § 16, note 1.

2. *ɐ*, the quality of which cannot be precisely defined, arose from the weakening of an original *ā, ē, ō*, caused by the loss of accent. It is generally pronounced like the *e* in NHG. *gabe* and in NE. *litter*.

3. Besides the ordinary long vowels *ā, ē, ō* with the 'broken' or acute accent the parent Indg. language had also the three long vowels *ā̃, ē̃, ō̃*

(also sometimes written \hat{a} , \hat{e} , \hat{o}) with the 'slurred' or circumflex accent. The former were bimoric and the latter trimoric in length. The difference between the two kinds of long vowels was still preserved in final syllables in the oldest historic period of the separate Germanic languages, see § 85.

4. Diphthongs only occurred before consonants and finally. When a diphthong came to stand before a vowel its second element belonged to the following vowel, as $\ddot{e}it$, $\ddot{e}ut$, $t\ddot{e}i$, $t\ddot{e}u$, but $t\ddot{e}-je$, $t\ddot{e}-we$.

5. Strictly speaking the combination a , e , or o + nasal or liquid is also a diphthong, because the history and development of such combinations are precisely parallel with those of the diphthongs ai , ei , oi , and au , eu , ou .

6. The long diphthongs were shortened before consonants in the pre-historic period of all the European languages, and they then had the same further development as the original short diphthongs. In this grammar no further account will be taken of them in stem-syllables. For their treatment in final syllables see § 89.

7. In philological works the vocalic liquids and nasals are often written \bar{l} , \bar{m} , \bar{n} , \bar{r} in order to distinguish them from consonantal l , m , n , r . Upon theoretical grounds it used to be assumed that the parent Indg. language also had long vocalic nasals and liquids, but scholars are now generally agreed that the forms which were supposed to contain these sounds admit of an entirely different explanation; see Wright, *Greek Grammar*, § 68.

§ 16. The Indg. vowel-system underwent various changes during the prim. Germanic period. These changes were of two kinds, viz. independent and dependent. Independent changes are those which take place independently of neighbouring sounds, whereas dependent sound-changes are those which depend upon or are due to the influence of neighbouring sounds.

I. INDEPENDENT CHANGES.

§ 17. The short vowels o and e became a ; the long vowel \bar{a} became \bar{o} ; of the diphthongs ei became long \bar{i} , oi , ou became ai , au ; and the vocalic nasals and liquids developed a u before (rarely after) them, and then became consonantal, whence um , un , ul , ur . Examples are:—

o (= Lat. o , Gr. o) > a in stem-syllables, as Lat. *quod*, Goth. *hwa*, O.Icel. *hvat*, OS. *hwat*, OHG. *hwaz*, OE. *hwæt* (§ 29), *what*; Lat. *octō*, Gr. $\acute{o}\kappa\acute{\omega}$, Goth. *ahtáu*, OS. OHG. *ahto*, OE.

eahta (§ 51), *eight*; Lat. *hostis*, *stranger*, *enemy*, Goth. *gasts*, OS. OHG. *gast*, OE. *giest* (§ 57), *guest*. See § 93.

o > a in all the Indg. languages except in the Aryan branch, where it became i, as Lat. *pater*, Gr. *πατήρ*, Goth. *fadar*, O.Icel. *faðer*, OS. *fadar*, OHG. *fater*, OE. *fæder* (§ 29), but Skr. *pitár-*, *father*; Lat. *status*, Gr. *στατός*, Skr. *sthitás*, *standing*, Goth. *staps*, O.Icel. *staðr*, OS. *stad*, OHG. *stat*, OE. *stede* (§ 57), prim. Germanic **staðiz*, *place*.

ā (= Lat. *ā*, Gr. Doric *ā*, Attic, Ionic *η*) > ō, as Lat. *māter*, Gr. Dor. *μάτηρ*, O.Icel. *mōðer*, OS. *mōdar*, OE. *mōdor*, *mother*; Lat. *frāter*, Goth. *brōþar*, O.Icel. *brōðer*, OS. *brōthar*, OE. *brōþor*, *brother*.

ei (Lat. *ī* (older *ei*), Gr. *ει*) > i, as Gr. *στέιχω*, *I go*, Goth. *steigan* (*ei* = *i*), O.Icel. *stiga*, OS. OHG. OE. *stigan*, *to ascend*; Gr. *λείπω*, *I leave*, Goth. *leihvan*, OS. OHG. *lihan*, *to lend*.

oi (= O.Lat. *oi*, later *ū*, Gr. *oi*, Goth. *ái*, O.Icel. OHG. *ei*, OS. *ē*, OE. *ā*) > ai, as Gr. *οἶδε*, Goth. *wáit*, O.Icel. *veit*, OHG. *weiz*, OS. *wēt*, OE. *wāt*, *he knows*; Gr. *πέ-ποιθε*, *he trusts*, Goth. *báiþ*, O.Icel. *beið*, OHG. *beit*, OS. *bād*, OE. *bād*, *he waited for*; Gr. *οἰνή*, *the one on dice*, O.Lat. *oinus*, later *ūnus*, Goth. *áins*, O.Icel. *einn*, OHG. *ein*, OS. *ēn*, OE. *ān*, *one*.

ou (= O.Lat. *ou*, later *ū*, Gr. *ou*, Skr. *ō*, Goth. *áu*, O.Icel. *au*, OS. *ō*, OHG. *ou*, (*ō*), OE. *ēa*) > au, as Indg. **roudhos*, Lat. *rūfus*, Goth. *ráuþs*, O.Icel. *rauðr*, OS. *rōd*, OHG. *rōt*, OE. *rēad*, *red*; Indg. **bhe-bhoudhe*, Skr. *bu-bódha*, *has waked*, Goth. *ana-báuþ*, *he ordered*, O.Icel. *bauð*, OS. *bōd*, OHG. *bōt*, OE. *bēad*, *he offered*.

m (= Lat. *em*, Gr. *α*) > um, as Gr. *βάσις*, *gait*, *step*, Goth. *ga-qumþs*, *assembly*, OHG. *kumft*, *a coming*; Gr. *ἐ-κατόν*, Lat. *centum* (with *n* from *m* by assimilation to the dental, and similarly in the Germanic languages), Goth. OS. OE. *hund*, OHG. *hunt*, Indg. **kmtóm*, *hundred*; acc. sing. Lat. *pedem*, Gr. *πόδα*, Goth. *fōtu* (§ 80), *foot*.

n (= Lat. *en*, Gr. *α*) > un, as acc. pl. Gr. *πόδας*, Goth.

fōtuns, feet; Gr. ἀθρέω from *φαθρέω, *I gaze at*, O.Icel. *undr*, OS. *wundar*, OHG. *wuntar*, OE. *wundor*, *wonder*; Lat. *commentus* (pp.) *invented*, Gr. αὐτό-ματος, *acting of one's own will*, Goth. *ga-munds*, OHG. *gi-munt*, OE. *ge-mynd* (§ 57), *remembrance*.

ī (= Lat. *ol*, (ul), Gr. αλ, (λα)) > ul, (lu), as Gr. πίμ-πλαμεν, *we fill*, Goth. *fulls*, O.Icel. *fullr*, OS. OE. *full*, Indg. **plnos*, *full*; Goth. *wulfs*, O.Icel. *ulfr*, OHG. *wolf*, OE. OS. *wulf*, Indg. **wlqʷos*, *wolf*.

r (= Lat. *or*, (ur), Gr. αρ, ρα, Skr. र्) > ur, (ru), as Skr. *va-vṛtimá*, *we have turned*, O.Icel. *urðom*, OS. *wurdun*, OHG. *wurtum*, OE. *wurdon*, *we became*; Gr. θαρρός, θρασύς, *bold*, θαρσέω, *I am of good courage*, OHG. *gi-turrun*, OE. *durron*, *we dare*; Lat. *porca*, *the ridge between two furrows*, OHG. *furuh*, OE. *furh*, *furrow*.

§ 18. The remaining Indg. vowel-sounds, viz. the short vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *u*, the long vowels *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*, and the diphthongs *ai*, *au*, *eu* did not undergo any independent changes during the prim. Germanic period. Examples are:—

a (= Lat. *a*, Gr. α): Lat. *ager*, Gr. ἀγρός, Goth. *akrs*, O.Icel. *akr*, OS. *akkar*, OHG. *ackar*, OE. *æcer* (§ 29), *field, acre*; Gr. ἄλς, Lat. gen. *salis*, Goth. O.Icel. OS. *salt*, OHG. *salz*, OE. *sealt* (§ 51), *salt*.

e (= Lat. *e*, Gr. ε): Lat. *edō*, Gr. ἔδω, *I eat*, O.Icel. *eta*, OE. OS. *etan*, OHG. *ezzan*, *to eat*; Lat. *ferō*, Gr. φέρω, *I bear*, O.Icel. *bera*, OS. OHG. OE. *beran*, *to bear*.

i (= Lat. *i*, Gr. ι): Lat. *piscis*, Goth. *fisks*, O.Icel. *fiskr*, OS. *fisk*, OHG. OE. *fisc*, *fish*; Skr. *vidmá*, Gr. Hom. *φίδμεν*, Goth. *witum*, O.Icel. *vitom*, OS. *witun*, OHG. *wizzum*, OE. *witon*, *we know*, cp. Lat. *vidēre*, *to see*.

u (= Lat. *u*, Gr. υ): Gr. gen. *κυνός*, Goth. *hunds*, O.Icel. *hundr*, OHG. *hunt*, OS. OE. *hund*, *dog, hound*; Gr. θύρα, OS. *duri*, OHG. *turi*, OE. *duru*, *door*.

ē: Indg. *ē* (= Lat. *ē*, Gr. η) was a long open sound and is generally written *æ* (= Goth. *ē*, O.Icel. OS. OHG. *ā*, OE.

(WS.) *æ*) in works on Germanic philology in order to distinguish it from the long close *ē* which arose in prim. Germanic, see § 25. It should be noted that the two sounds were kept apart in all the old Germanic languages except Gothic. Examples of Indg. *ē* are: Lat. *ēdimus*, Goth. *ētum*, O.Icel. *ātom*, OS. *ātun*, OHG. *āzum*, OE. *æton*, *we ate*; Lat. *mēnsis*, Gr. *μήν*, *month*, Goth. *mēna*, O.Icel. *māne*, OS. OHG. *māno*, OE. *mōna* (§ 49), *moon*.

i (= Lat. *i*, Gr. *ι*): Lat. *su-inus* (adj.), *belonging to a pig*, Goth. *swein*, O.Icel. *svīn*, OS. OHG. OE. *swīn*, *pig*, *swine*; Lat. *sīmus*, OS. *sīn*, OHG. *sīm*, OE. *sī-en*, *we may be*.

ō (= Lat. *ō*, Gr. *ω*), Gr. *πλωτός*, *swimming*, Goth. *flōdus*, O.Icel. *flōð*, OS. OE. *flōd*, *flood*, *tide*; Gr. Doric *πός*, Goth. *fōtus*, O.Icel. *fōtr*, OS. OE. *fōt*, *foot*.

ū (= Lat. *ū*, Gr. *υ*): Gr. *μῦς*, Lat. O.Icel. OHG. OE. *mūs*, *mouse*; Lat. *pūteō*, *I smell bad*, Gr. *πτύθω*, *I make to rot*, Goth. *fūls*, O.Icel. *fūll*, OHG. OE. *fūl*, *foul*.

ai (= O.Lat. *ai*, later *ae*, Gr. *αι*, Goth. *ái*, O.Icel. OHG. *ei*, OS. *ē*, OE. *ā*): *aedēs*, *sanctuary*, originally, *fire-place*, *hearth*, Gr. *αἶθω*, *I burn*; OHG. *eit*, OE. *ād*, *funeral pile*, *ignis*, *rogus*; Lat. *caedō*, *I hew*, *cut down*, Goth. *skáidan*, OHG. *sceidan*, OS. *skēdan*, OE. *scādan*, *to divide*, *sever*.

au (= Lat. *au*, Gr. *αυ*, Goth. *áu*, O.Icel. *au*, OS. *ō*, OHG. *ou*, (*ō*), OE. *ēa*): Lat. *auris*, Goth. *áusō*, OS. OHG. *ōra*, OE. *ēare*, *ear*; Lat. *augeō*, Gr. *αὐξάνω*, *I increase*, Goth. *áukan*, O.Icel. *auka*, OS. *ōkian*, OHG. *ouhhōn*, OE. *ēacian*, *to add*, *increase*.

eu (= O.Lat. *ou*, later *ū*, Gr. *ευ*, Goth. *iu*, O.Icel. *jō*, (*jū*), OS. OHG. *eo*, later *io*, OE. *ēo*): Gr. *γέωω*, *I give a taste of*, Goth. *kiusan*, O.Icel. *kjōsa*, OS. OHG. *kiosan*, OE. *cēosan*, *to test*, *choose*; O.Lat. *doucō*, later *dūcō*, *I lead*, Goth. *tiuhan*, OS. *tiohan*, OHG. *ziohan*, OE. *tēon* (§ 68), *to lead*, *draw*. Prim. Germanic *eu* was still preserved in old Germanic proper names found in ancient authors, as **Teutomērus**, **Reudigni**; in the oldest Norse runic inscriptions, as **-leuþaR**, *dear*; and in

the oldest OE. glosses, as *steupfædær*, later *stēopfæder*, *step-father*.

§ 19. From the independent changes which have been stated in § 17 it will be seen that the following vowel-sounds fell together:—*a*, *o*, *ə*; original *u* and the *u* which arose from Indg. vocalic *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*; *ā* and *ō*; *ī* and *ei*; *ai* and *oi*; *au* and *ou*; and that the Indg. vowel-system was reduced to the short vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *u*, long vowels *ā*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*, and the short diphthongs *ai*, *au*, *eu*. In the following paragraphs will be stated the dependent changes which these simple vowels and diphthongs underwent during the prim. Germanic period.

2. DEPENDENT CHANGES.

§ 20. A guttural nasal (*ŋ*) disappeared before *χ* with lengthening of a preceding *a*, *i*, *u* to the nasalized vowels *ā̃*, *ī̃*, *ū̃*, which became denasalized in the prehistoric period of Gothic and the West Germanic languages, but remained in the oldest Old Norse. The normal equivalents of these nasalized vowels are:—*ā*, *ī*, *ū* in Goth. OS. and OHG.; *ō*, *ī*, *ū* in OE.; and *ā̃* (written *ā*), *ō̃*, *ū̃* in O.Icel. Examples are:—

a + *ŋχ* > *ā̃χ*, as Goth. OS. OHG. *fāhan*, O.Icel. *fā*, OE. *fōn* (§ 68), from **farnχanan*, *to catch*, cp. Lat. *pangere*, *to fasten*; pret. Goth. *þāhta* (inf. *þagkjan*), O.Icel. *þátta*, OS. *thāhta*, OHG. *dāhta*, OE. *þōhte*, from **þarnχtō-*, *I thought*, cp. O.Lat. *tongēre*, *to know*.

i (= Indg. *i*, *e*) + *ŋχ* > *ī̃χ*, as Goth. *þeihan*, OS. *thihan*, OHG. *dihan*, OE. *þēon* (cp. § 68), from **þirnχanan* older **þernχanan*, *to thrive*, cp. Lithuanian *tenkù*, *I have enough*; and similarly OHG. *sihan*, OE. *sēon*, *to strain*; OHG. *fihala*, O.Icel. *fēl*, OE. *fēol*, *file*. The result of this sound-law was the reason why verbs of the type **þirnχanan* passed from the third to the first class of strong verbs (§ 334) in the prehistoric period of all the Germanic languages, cp. the isolated pp. OS. *gi-thungan*, OE. *ge-pungen*, *full-grown*.

$u + r\chi > \bar{u}$, as pret. Goth. *pūhta*, OS. *thūhta*, OHG. *dūhta*, O.Icel. *pōtte*, OE. *pūhte*, *it seemed*, beside inf. Goth. *þugkjan*, OS. *thunkian*, OHG. *dunken*, O.Icel. *þykkja*, OE. *þyncan* (§ 57), *to seem*; Goth. *ūhtwō*, OS. OHG. OE. *ūhta*, O.Icel. *ōtta*, from **urχtwō*, *daybreak, dawn*, cp. Gr. *ἀκτίς*, *ray, beam*.

§ 21. *e* became *i* under the following circumstances:—

1. Before a nasal + consonant, as Goth. OS. OE. *bindan*, O.Icel. *binda*, OHG. *bintan*, *to bind*, cp. Lat. *of-fendimentum*, *chin-cloth*, *of-fendix*, *knot, band*; Goth. *windś*, O.Icel. *vindr*, OS. OE. *wind*, OHG. *wint*, Lat. *ventus*, *wind*; and similarly in early Lat. loanwords, as OE. *mintē*, OHG. *minza*, Lat. *menta*, *mentha*, *mint*; OE. *gimm*, OHG. *gimma*, Lat. *gemma*, *gem*. This explains why OE. *bindan*, *to bind*, and *helpan*, *to help*, belong to the same ablaut-series. See § 104.

2. When followed by an *i*, *ī*, or *j* in the next syllable, as Goth. OS. OHG. *ist*, OE. *is*, from **isti*, older **esti* = Lat. *est*, Gr. *ἔστι*, *is*; Goth. *midjis*, O.Icel. *miðr*, OS. *middi*, OHG. *mitti*, OE. *midd*, Lat. *medius*, Indg. **medhjos*, *middle*; OS. *birid*, OHG. *birit*, *he bears*, from an original form **bhéreti*, through the intermediate stages **béredi*, **béridi*, **bíridi*.

This sound-law accounts for the difference in the stem-vowels of such pairs as OE. *feld* (OHG. *feld*), *field* : *gefilde* (OHG. *gifildi*), *a plain*; *heord* (OHG. *herta*), *herd* : *hierde* (OHG. *hirti*), *shepherd*; inf. *helpan* : *hilpst* (OHG. *hilfis*), *thou helpest*; *hilpp* (OHG. *hilfit*), *he helps*, and similarly in the second and third person singular of the present indicative of many other strong verbs; pp. *legen*, *seten* : inf. *licgan*, *to lie down*, *sittan*, *to sit*.

3. In unaccented syllables, except in the combination *-er* when not followed by an *i* in the next syllable, as OE. *fēt*, older *fōt*, from **fōtiz*, older **fōtes*, *feet*, cp. Gr. *πόδες*. Indg. *e* remained in unaccented syllables in the combination *-er* when not followed by an *i* in the next syllable, as acc. OS. *fader*, OHG. *fater*, OE. *fæder*, Gr. *πατέρα*, *father*; OE. *hwæper*, Gr. *πότερος*, *which of two*.

§ 22. *i*, followed originally by an *ā*, *ō*, or *ē* in the next syllable, became *e* when not protected by a nasal + consonant or an intervening *i* or *j*, as O.Icel. *verr*, OS. OHG. OE. *wer*, Lat. *vir*, from an original form **wiros*, *man*; OHG. OE. *nest*, Lat. *nīdus*, from an original form **nizdos*, *nest*. In historic times, however, this law has a great number of exceptions owing to the separate languages having levelled out in various directions, as OE. *speo* beside *spic*, *bacon*; OHG. *lebēn* beside OE. *libban*, *to live*; OHG. *queo* beside OE. *owic*, *quick*, *alive*.

§ 23. *u*, followed originally by an *ā*, *ō*, *ē*, or the combination -*eno*- (cp. §§ 93. 2, 290) in the next syllable, became *o* when not protected by a nasal + consonant or an intervening *i* or *j*, as OS. *dohter*, OHG. *tohter*, OE. *dohtor*, Gr. *θυγάτηρ*, *daughter*; O.Icel. *ok*, OHG. *joh*, OE. *geoc* (§ 56, note 4), Gr. *ζυγόν*, *yoke*; OHG. OE. *gold*, *gold*, beside OHG. *guldīn*, OE. *gylden*, *golden*; pp. of strong verbs, as O.Icel. *boðenn*, OS. *gibodan*, OHG. *gibotan*, OE. *boden* (§ 335), *offered*, O.Icel. *holpenn*, OS. *giholpan*, OHG. *giholfan*, OE. *holpen* (§ 341), *helped*, O.Icel. *borenn*, OS. OHG. *giboran*, OE. *boren* (§ 344), *borne*, beside O.Icel. *bundenn*, OS. *gibundan*, OHG. *gibuntan*, OE. *bunden* (§ 340), *bound*. Every prim. Germanic *o* was of this origin. Cp. § 17.

This sound-law accounts for the difference in the stem-vowels of such pairs as OS. OE. *god*, OHG. *got*, *god* : OE. *gyden*, OHG. *gutin*, *goddess*; OE. *coss*, *kiss* : *cyssan*, *to kiss*; *fox* : *fyxen*, *she-fox*; pret. *bohte*, *worhte* : inf. *bycgan*, *to buy*, *wyrcan*, *to work*, see § 57. It was best preserved in OHG. In O.Icel. OS. and OE. we often find *u* where we should regularly expect *o*. The *u* in these cases was partly due to levelling out in various directions and partly to the influence of neighbouring consonants, especially an *f*, *w*, *m*, or *n* (see §§ 48, 66), as O.Icel. *fullr*, OS. OE. *full*, beside OHG. *fol*, *full*; O.Icel. *ull*, OE. *wull(e)*, beside OHG. *wolla*, *wool*; O.Icel. *numenn*, OS. *ginuman*, OE. *numen*, beside O.Icel. *nomenn*,

OHG. *ginoman*, *taken*; O.Icel. *hunang*, OE. *hunig*, beside OS. *honeg*, OHG. *honang*, *honey*.

§ 24. The diphthong *eu* became *iu* when the next syllable originally contained an *i*, *ī*, or *j* (cp. § 21. 2), but remained *eu* when the next syllable originally contained an *ǣ*, *ō*, *ē* (cp. § 18). The *iu* remained in Goth. OS. and OHG., but became *jū* (*y* by *i*-umlaut) in O.Icel. and *īo* (*īe* by *i*-umlaut) in OE., as Goth. *liuhtjan*, OS. *liuhtian*, OHG. *liuhten*, OE. *līehtan*, *to give light*: OS. OHG. *lioht*, OE. *lēoht*, *a light*; OS. *kiusid*, OHG. *kiusit*, O.Icel. *kýs(s)*, OE. *cīesþ*, *he chooses*, beside inf. OS. OHG. *kiosan*, O.Icel. *kjōsa*, OE. *cēosan*, *to choose*; OS. *liudi*, OHG. *liuti*, OE. *līode*, *people*. See § 18.

§ 25. Besides *ā* (= Indg. *ē*, § 18) prim. Germanic also had a long close *ē* which arose from various sources. The two sounds fell together in Gothic, but were kept apart in all the other languages. Apart from the *ē* in the preterite of a small number of the seventh class of strong verbs (§§ 356-8), and in a few Latin loanwords, it only occurs in a few words. Its chief sources seem to be:—(a) From the Indg. long diphthong *ēi* which regularly stood in ablaut relation to *ī*, as Goth. O.Icel. OS. OE. *hēr*, OHG. *hēr*, later *hear*, *hiar*, *hier*, *here*: Goth. *hi-drē*, OE. *hi-der*, *hither*; OE. *cēn*, OHG. *kēn*, later *kean*, *kian*, *kien*, *torch*: OE. *cīnan*, *to crack*; OHG. *zēri*, &c., *beautiful*: OS. OE. *tīr*, O.Icel. *tīrr*, *renown*, *glory*, *splendour*; OS. *mēda*, OE. *mēd*, OHG. *mēta*, &c., Indg. **mēizdhā*: Goth. *mizdō*, OE. *meord*, Gr. *μισθός*, *pay*, *reward*. (b) Latin loanwords, as OE. *bēte*, OHG. *biezza*, Lat. *bēta*, *beetroot*; Goth. *mēs*, OE. *mēse*, OHG. *meas*, *mias*, vulgar Latin *mēsa*, *table*. (c) The pret. of a small number of the seventh class of strong verbs (§§ 356-8), as O.Icel. OS. OE. *hēt*, OHG. *hiaz*, beside Goth. *haiháit*, *he called*; O.Icel. OS. OE. *lēt*, OHG. *liaz*, beside Goth. *laílōt*, *he let*. For a comprehensive article on the subject, see Feist, Paul-Braune's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, vol. xxxii, pp. 447 ff.

THE PRIMITIVE GERMANIC VOWEL-SYSTEM.

§ 26. In the previous paragraphs have been stated the vowel-changes which the Indg. vowel-system underwent during the prim. Germanic period. By summing up these changes we are now in a position to arrive at the vowel-system which existed at the end of the prim. Germanic period, i. e. just before the parent Germanic language became differentiated into the various separate languages:—

Short vowels	a, e, i, o, u
Long oral vowels	æ, ē, ī, ō, ū
Long nasal vowels	ā, î, û
Diphthongs	ai, au, eu, iu

For the equivalents of the long nasal vowels ā, î, û in the separate languages see § 20. We shall now proceed to trace the development of the other prim. Germanic simple vowels and diphthongs in OE. And in so doing we shall first deal with the vowels and diphthongs of accented syllables, and then with those of unaccented syllables.

CHAPTER III

THE OE. DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRIMITIVE GERMANIC VOWEL-SYSTEM OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES

§ 27. In dealing with the development of the prim. Germanic vowels in OE. we shall adopt the same method as we did in dealing with the development of the Indg. vowels in prim. Germanic, i. e. we shall first deal with the independent changes, and then with the dependent changes.

I. INDEPENDENT CHANGES.

§ 28. Prim. Germanic **a** became **æ**, but the short vowels **e**, **i**, **o**, **u** underwent no independent changes. The long nasal vowel **ā** became **ō**, and **ī**, **ū** had the same development in OE. as prim. Germanic oral **ī**, **ū** (§ 18). The long vowels **æ**, **ē**, **ī**, **ō**, **ū** underwent no independent changes. The diphthongs **ai**, **au**, **eu**, **iu** became **ā**, **ēa**, **ēo**, **īo**.

a. *The Short Vowels.*

§ 29. Germanic **a** became **æ**. Examples in closed syllables are: **dæg**, Goth. **dags**, O. Icel. **dagr**, OS. **dag**, OHG. **tag**, *day*; and similarly **bæp**, *bath*; **bræs**, *brass*; **glæd**, *glad*; **hwæt**, *what*; **pæp**, *path*; **sægde**, *he said*; in the pret. sing. of strong verbs belonging to classes IV (§ 344) and V (§ 346), as **bær**, *he bore*; **stæl**, *he stole*; **sæt**, *he sat*; **wæs**, *he was*; and in open syllables when followed by a palatal vowel or a vocalic nasal or liquid in the next syllable, as **æcer**, *field, acre*; **fæder**, *father*; **hlædel**, *ladle*; **nægel**, *nægl, nail*; **fæpm**, *embrace, fathom*; **wægn**, *wagon*; sing. gen. **dæges**, dat. **dæge**.

NOTE.—1. **a** often occurs where we should expect **æ**. In such cases the **a** is due to levelling and new formations, as sing. gen. **papes**, dat. **pape**, beside **pæpes**, **pæpe**, due to the plural forms **papas**, **papa**, **papum** (§ 182); fem. gen. dat. acc. singular **sace**, **swape**, beside **sæce**, **swæpe**, due to the nom. sing. **sacu**, *strife, quarrel*; **swapu**, *track*; and plural **saca**, **swapa**, &c. (§ 213); masc. gen. sing. **glades**, beside nom. **glæd**, *glad*, due to forms like dat. sing. and pl. **gladum** (§ 271); imperative of strong verbs belonging to class VI (§ 352), as **far**, **sac**, due to the influence of the inf. **faran**, *to go, travel*; **sacan**, *to quarrel*.

2. **æ** became **e** in Ken. and s. Mercian, as **deg**, **feder**, **wes** = WS. **dæg**, **fæder**, **wæs**. And then **æ** (**ae**) was sometimes written by ignorant scribes for old **e**, as **ætan**, **aetan** = **etan**, *to eat*.

§ 30. But Germanic **a** remained or else **æ** became **a** again in open syllables when originally followed by a guttural vowel (**ǣ**, **ō**, **ū**) in the next syllable, as pl. nom. acc. **dagas**, gen. **daga**, dat. **dagum**, beside sing. nom. acc. **dæg**, *day*, gen. **dæges**, dat. **dæge**; neut. nom. acc. pl. **baþu**, *baths*, beside sing. **bæp**; **caru**,

care; *hafoc*, *hawk*; *hara*, *hare*; *macaþ*, *he makes*; *macode*, *he made*; inf. *macian* from **makōjan* (§ 94. 3); and similarly in other weak verbs belonging to class II (§ 381); in closed syllables before double consonants (except *hh*, *ll*, *rr*), *sc*, and *st*, when the next syllable originally contained a guttural vowel, as *assa*, *donkey*; *habban*, *to have*; *mattoç*, *mattock*; *flasce*, *flask*; *brastlian*, *to crackle*; before the *w* which was regularly preserved in OE., as gen. dat. sing. *clawe* beside nom. *clēa*, *claw* (§ 144); *pawian*, *to thaw*.

§ 31. *e*: OE. OS. OHG. *beran*, O. Icel. *bera*, *to bear* (§ 18); and similarly *feld*, *field*; *feþer*, *feather*; *nefa*, *nephew*; *setl*, *seat*; *snegl*, *snail*; *weder*, *weather*; in the present of strong verbs belonging to classes III (§ 341), IV (§ 344), and V (§ 346), as *helpan*, *to help*; *meltan*, *to melt*; *stelan*, *to steal*; *teran*, *to tear*; *etan*, *to eat*; *wefan*, *to weave*.

§ 32. *i*: OE. OHG. *fisc*, Goth. *fisks*, O. Icel. *fiskr*, OS. *fisk*, *fish* (§ 18); and similarly *blind*, *blind*; *cild*, *child*; *hring*, *ring*; *lim*, *limb*; *scip*, *ship*; *twig*, *twig*; in the second and third pers. sing. pres. indic. of strong verbs belonging to classes III (§ 341), IV (§ 344), and V (§ 346), as *hilp(e)st*, *hilp(e)þ*, *bir(e)st*, *bir(e)þ*, *it(e)st*, *iteþ*, *it(t)*, beside inf. *helpan*, *to help*; *beran*, *to bear*; *etan*, *to eat*; in the pret. pl. and pp. of strong verbs belonging to class I (§ 332), as *biton*, *biten* beside inf. *bītan*, *to bite*; in the inf. and pres. of strong verbs belonging to class III (§ 340), as *bindan*, *to bind*; *singan*, *to sing*.

NOTE.—*i* appears as *e* in the Lat. loanwords *peru* (Lat. *pirum*), *pear*; *segn* (Lat. *signum*), *sign*.

§ 33. *o*: OE. *folc*, O. Icel. OS. OHG. *folk*, *folk* (§ 23); and similarly *bodig*, *body*; *bord*, *board*; *col*, *coal*; *dogga*, *dog*; *frogga*, *frog*; *morgen*, *morning*; *nosu*, *nose*; *open*, *open*; *word*, *word*; in the pp. of strong verbs belonging to classes II (§ 335), III (§ 341), and IV (§ 344), as *coren*, *chosen*; *holpen*, *helped*; *stolen*, *stolen*.

§ 34. *u*: OE. OS. *hund*, Goth. *hunds*, O. Icel. *hundr*, OHG.

hunt, *dog*, *hound* (§ 18); and similarly *duru*, *door*; *hungor*, *hunger*; *sunu*, *son*; *tunge*, *tongue*; in the pret. pl. of strong verbs belonging to classes II (§ 335), and III (§§ 340-3), as *flugon*, *we flew*; *bundon*, *we bound*; and in the pp. of strong verbs belonging to class III (§ 340), as *bunden*, *bound*; *suncen*, *sunk*.

NOTE.—But *u* became *o* in the prefix *or-* (= Goth. *us-*, OHG. *ur-*, *out*), as *orsorg*, *without anxiety*; *orwēne*, *despairing*; and in the Lat. loanwords *box* (Lat. *buxus*), *boxtree*; *copor* (Lat. *cuprum*), *copper*.

b. The Long Vowels.

§ 35. Prim. Germanic *a* (§ 20) became *ō*, as *brōhte*, Goth. OS. OHG. *brāhta*, *I brought*; and similarly *fōn*, *to grasp, seize*; *hōn*, *to hang*; *tōh*, *tough*; *pōhte*, *I thought*.

§ 36. *æ*: WS. *dæd*, Goth. *ga-dēps*, O.Icel. *dǫð*, OS. *dād*, OHG. *tāt*, *deed* (§ 18); and similarly *blædre*, *bladder*; *æfen*, *evening*; *mæł*, *meal-time*; *nædl*, *needle*; *pæ̅r*, *there*; in the pret. pl. of strong verbs belonging to class V (§ 346), as *æton*, *they ate*; *sæton*, *they sat*.

NOTE.—1. *æ* became *ē* in Anglian and Ken., as *dēd*, *sēton* = WS. *dæd*, *sæton*. *æ*, *ae* were often written for this *ē* in late Ken.

2. The *ā* in early Lat. loanwords had the same development in OE. as Germanic *æ*, as *næp* (Lat. *nāpus*), *turnip*; *stræt* (Lat. *strāta*), *street*.

§ 37. *ē*: OE. Goth. O.Icel. OS. *hēr*, OHG. *hēr*, *hear*, *hiar*, *here* (§ 25); and similarly *oēn*, *torch*; *mēd*, *pay*, *reward*; in the pret. of strong verbs belonging to class VII (§§ 356-8), as *hēt*, *lēt*, *hēng*, beside inf. *hātan*, *to call*; *lātan*, *to let*; *hōn*, *to hang*.

NOTE.—Lat. *ē* became *ī* in early loanwords, as *cīpe* (Lat. *cēpa*), *onion*; *pīn* (Lat. *pēna*, late Lat. *pēna*), *torture*; but *ē* remained in later loanwords, as *bēte* (Lat. *bēta*), *beetroot*; *crēda* (Lat. *crēdō*, *I believe*), *creed*.

§ 38. *ī*: OE. OS. *bītan*, Goth. *beitan*, O.Icel. *bīta*, *to bite* (§ 18); and similarly *drifan*, *to drive*; *hwīt*, *white*; *līf*, *life*; *rīdan*, *to ride*; *smītan*, *to smile*; *tīd*, *tīma*, *time*.

§ 39. *ō*: OE. OS. *fōt*, Goth. *fōtus*, O.Icel. *fōtr*, *foot* (§ 18); and similarly *blōd*, *blood*; *brōþor*, *brother*; *dōn*, *to do*; *gōd*, *good*; *mōdor*, *mother*; *stōl*, *stool*; in the pret. of strong verbs belonging to class VI (§ 352), as *fōr*, *he went, travelled*; *swōr*, *he swore*.

§ 40. *ū*: OE. O.Icel. OS. OHG. *hūs*, *house* (§ 18); and similarly *brūn*, *brown*; *hlūd*, *loud*; *mūs*, *mouse*; *rūst*, *rust*; *sūcan*, *to suck*; *pūhte*, *it seemed* (§ 20); *pūsēd*, *thousand*.

c. *The Diphthongs.*

§ 41. Prim. Germanic *ai* became *ā* (§§ 17-18), as *hāl*, Goth. *hāills*, O.Icel. *heill*, OS. *hēl*, OHG. *heil*, *whole, sound*; and similarly *āc*, *oak*; *bān*, *bone*; *gāt*, *goat*; *hlāford*, *lord*; *sāwol*, *soul*; *stān*, *stone*; *twā*, *two*; in the pret. sing. of strong verbs belonging to class I (§ 332), as *bāt*, *he bit*; *rād*, *he rode*.

§ 42. Prim. Germanic *au* became *ēa* (§§ 17-18), as *ēage*, Goth. *áugō*, O.Icel. *auga*, OS. *ōga*, OHG. *ouga*, *eye*; and similarly *bēacen*, *beacon*; *dēap*, *death*; *dēaf*, *deaf*; *ēare*, *ear*; *hēafod*, *head*; *hlēapan*, *to leap*; *lēaf*, *leaf*; in the pret. sing. of strong verbs belonging to class II (§ 335), as *cēas*, *he chose*; *frēas*, *it froze*.

NOTE.—*ēo* beside *ēa* occurs in Nth., especially in s.Nth., as *dēof*, *hēofod*, *ēore*, beside *dēaf*, *hēafod*, *ēare*.

§ 43. Prim. Germanic *eu* became *ēo* (§ 18), as *dēop*, Goth. *diups*, O.Icel. *djūpr*, OS. *diop*, OHG. *tiof*, *deep*; and similarly *dēor*, *deer*; *flēos*, *fleece*; *sēoc*, *sick*; *pēof*, *thief*; in the present of strong verbs belonging to class II (§ 335), as *cēosan*, *to choose*; *crēopan*, *to creep*; *scēotan*, *to shoot*.

NOTE.—1. *io* was often written for *ēo* in early WS. and Mercian.

2. In Nth., especially in n.Nth, the *ēo* generally became *ēa*, and thus fell together with *ēa* from Germanic *au* (§ 42); and in Ken. it became *io* (also written *īa*) and thus fell together with *io* from Germanic *iu* (§ 24), as Nth. *dēar*, Ken. *dīor*, *dīar* = WS. and Mercian *dēor*, *deer*.

§ 44. Prim. Germanic *iu* became *io* (§ 24). In WS. *io*

generally became *īe* (later *ī*, *ȳ*) by *i*-umlaut, see § 57. But when no umlaut took place early WS. had *īo* beside *ēo*. Although these two diphthongs were of different origins *ēo* began to be written for *īo*, and vice versa, at an early period, and in the end completely supplanted it. It is difficult to account for the forms without umlaut, unless we may suppose that they are not pure WS. (see § 24). Examples are: *cīesþ*, Goth. *kīusīþ*, *he chooses*; *liehtan*, Goth. *liuhtjan*, *to give light*. *dīere*, beside *dīore*, *dēore*, *dear*; *geþīedan* beside *geþīodan*, *geþēodan*, *to join, associate*; *stīeran* beside *stīoran*, *stēoran*, *to steer*; *līode*, *lēode*, *people*.

2. DEPENDENT CHANGES.

1. *ā*.

§ 45. Prim. Germanic *ā* became *ā* before a liquid, labial, or guttural followed by a guttural vowel, but there are numerous exceptions to this rule which were due to the analogy of forms where *ā* was regular. Regular forms were: *slāpol*, *sleepy*; *sāl*, *opportunity*; *tāl*, *calumny*; *swār*, *heavy*; *māg*, *kinsman*, beside forms like dat. pl. *sālum*, *tālum*, *swārum*, *māgum*, from which were formed a new singular *sāl*, *tāl*, *swār*, *māg*; inf. *slāpan*, *to sleep*, beside the second and third pers. singular *slāp(e)st*, *slāp(e)þ*, from which was formed a new inf. *slāpan*; pret. pl. *lāgon*, *they lay*; *þāgon*, *they received*; *wāgon*, *they carried*, beside the new formations *lāgon*, *þāgon*, *wāgon*, due to the analogy of preterites like *āton*, *they ate*; *sāton*, *they sat*; and in the pret. pl. of some verbs the new formation with *ā* became generalized, as *stālon*, *they stole*; *bāron*, *they bore*; *wāron*, *they were*; *sprācon*, *they spoke*. See also §§ 49, 64.

2. *The Influence of Nasals.*

§ 46. Prim. Germanic *a* became rounded in OE. to a sound intermediate between the *o* in NE. *on* and the *a* in NHG. *mann*. In the oldest period of the language it was nearly always written

a, in the ninth century it was mostly written **o**, and in late WS. and Ken. mostly **a**, which indicates that it had become **a** again, but it remained in some parts of Mercian, and has been preserved in many of the Midland dialects down to the present day. Examples are : **mann**, **monn**, Goth. *man*, *man*; **nama**, **noma**, Goth. *namō*, *name*; **standan**, **stondan**, *to stand*; **lang**, **long**, *long*; in the pret. sing. of many strong verbs belonging to class III (§ 340), as **dranc**, **drone**, *he drank*; **fand**, **fond**, *he found*; **sang**, **song**, *he sang*. In this grammar the sound will generally be written **a**.

NOTE.—The **a** became full **o** in unstressed adverbial and pronominal forms, as **hwonne**, *when*; **on**, *on*; **ponne**, *then*; masc. acc. sing. **hwone**, *whom*; **pone**, *the*.

§ 47. **e** became **i** before Germanic **m**, as **niman**, OHG. *neman*, *to take*; **rīma**, *rim*.

NOTE.—**e** became **i** before nasal + consonant in early Lat. loanwords, but remained in later loanwords, as **gimm** (Lat. *gemma*), *gem*; **mintē** (Lat. *mentha*), *mint*, but **templ** (Lat. *templum*), *temple*.

§ 48. **o** became **u** before nasals, as pp. **cumen**, OHG. *quoman*, *come*; **numen**, OHG. *ginoman*, *taken*; **hunig**, OHG. *honag*, *honey*; and also in early Lat. loanwords, as **munuc** (Lat. *monachus*), *monk*; **pund** (Lat. *pondō*), *pound*. See also §§ 23, 66.

§ 49. Before nasals prim. Germanic **ā** became **ō** through the intermediate stage **ā**, as **mōna**, Goth. *mēna*, OS. OHG. *māno*, *moon*; and similarly **c(w)ōmon**, *they came*; **nōmon**, *they took*; **mōnaþ**, *month*; **sōna**, *soon*.

§ 50. Nasals disappeared before the voiceless spirants **f**, **þ**, **s**, and the preceding vowels **a** (**o**), **i**, **u** became **ō**, **ī**, **ū** through the intermediate stage of long nasalized vowels, as **ōþer**, Goth. *anþar*, *second*, *other*; **sōfte**, OHG. *samfto*, *gently*, *softly*; **fif**, Goth. *fimf*, *five*; **sīþ**, Goth. *sinþs*, *way*; **cūþ**, Goth. *kunþs*, *known*; **ūs**, Goth. *uns*, *us*; and similarly **gōs**, *goose*; **tōþ**, *tooth*; **fīfel**, *sea-monster*; **mūþ**, *mouth*; **sūþ**, *south*.

NOTE.—**n** remained when it came to stand before a voiceless spirant at a later period, as **pinsian** from Lat. **pensāre**, *to weigh, consider*; **winster** beside **winester**, OHG. **winister**, *left (hand)*.

3. BREAKING (FRACTURE).

§ 51. Breaking is due to the influence of an **l**, **r**, or **h** + consonant, or simple **h**, upon a preceding palatal vowel, whereby a guttural glide was developed between the vowel and the consonant, which then combined with the vowel to form a diphthong. In this manner the Germanic vowels **a** (= OE. **æ**), **e**, **i**; **ā**, **ī** eventually became **ea**, **eo**, **io**; **ēa**, **īo**. For the monophthongization of these diphthongs at a later period, see § 67.

æ was broken to **ea** (= **æa**) before **l**, **r**, or **h** + consonant (also **x** = **hs**), and simple **h**, as **healdan**, Goth. **haldan**, *to hold*; **bearn**, Goth. **barn**, *child*; **eahta**, Goth. **ahtáu**, *eight*; **weaxan**, OHG. **wahsan**, *to grow*; **seah**, OHG. **sah**, *he saw*; and similarly **ceald**, *cold*; **eall**, *all*; **sealt**, *salt*; **weall**, *wall*; **dearr**, *I dare*; **heard**, *hard*; **wearm**, *warm*; **hleahor**, *laughter*; **meaht** (later **miht**), *power, might*; **neaht** (later **niht**), *night*, see § 67; **fleax**, *flax*; **sleah**, *slay thou*.

NOTE.—1. Forms without breaking often occur in the oldest WS. and Ken.

2. Forms like **ærn** (Goth. **razn**), *house*; pret. sing. **arn** (Goth. **rann**), *he ran*; **gærs** (Goth. **gras**), *grass*, are due to a late metathesis of the **r**.

3. Breaking took place in Anglian before **r** + consonant (other than **o**, **g**, **h**), but not before **l** + consonant.

4. **eo** was often written for **ea** in Nth., especially in s.Nth., as **eorm**, **heord** = WS. **earm**, *heard*.

5. **a** remained unbroken in late Lat. loanwords, as **alter** (Lat. **altāre**), *altar*; **fals** (Lat. **falsus**), *false*; **martyr** (Lat. **martyr**), *martyr*; **palm** (Lat. **palma**), *palm-tree*.

§ 52. **e** was broken to **eo** before **lc**, **lh**, before **r** and **h** + consonant (also **x** = **hs**), and before simple **h**, as **meolcan**, OHG. **melcan**, *to milk*; **seolh**, OHG. **selah**, *seal*; **weorþan**, OHG. **werdan**, *to become*; **feohtan**, OHG. **fehtan**, *to fight*; **seox**, OHG. **sehs**, *six*; **seoh**, *see thou*; and similarly **āseolcan**, *to*

become languid; *eolh*, *elk*; *eorpe*, *earth*; *beorcan*, *to bark*; *steorra*, *star*; *weorc*, *work*. But already at an early period *eo* became *ie* (later *i*, *y*) under certain conditions before *ht* and *hs*, as *cnieht*, *cniht*, *boy*; *siex*, *six*, *six*, see § 67.

NOTE.—1. Breaking is older than the metathesis of *r* in forms like *berstan* (OHG. *brestan*), *to burst*; *fersc*, *fresh*; *perscan*, *to thrash*.

2. Breaking did not take place in Anglian before *lc*, *lh*.

3. *ea* was often written for *eo* in Nth., especially in n.Nth., as *hearte*, *heart*, *stearra*, *s~~ea~~r* = WS. and Mercian *heorte*, *steorra*. The *eo* became *io* in Ken., as *hiorte*, *stiorra*.

4. Nth. kept *eo* and *io* apart, but in Mercian they fell together in *eo* in the ninth century. In Ken. *io* was used for *eo* and vice versa. They were kept apart in early WS., but fell together in *eo* in late WS.

§ 53. *i* was broken to *io* (older *iu*) before *r* and *h*+consonant, and simple *h*, but in WS. and Mercian the *io* eventually became *eo* and thus fell together with the *eo* from *e*, see note 4 above, as *liornian*, *leornian* from **lirnōjan*, *to learn*; *miox*, *meox* from **mihst*, *manure*, cp. Goth. *maihstus*, *dunghill*; *tiohhian*, *teohhian* from **tindhōjan*, *to arrange*, *think*, *consider*.

§ 54. Prim. Germanic *ā* was broken to *ēa* (= *āa*) before *h*, as *nēah*, Goth. *nēhv*, OHG. *nāh*, *near* (§ 18); *nēar* from **nēahur*, older **nāhur*, *nearer* (§ 68).

NOTE.—The non-WS. *ē* from older *ā* (§ 18) was broken to *ēo*, also written *io* in Mercian, and *io*, *ia* in Ken.

§ 55. *ī* was broken to *io* (older *iu*) before *h* and *ht*, but already in early WS. and Mercian the *io* mostly became *ēo* (= Anglian *ī*), as *lioh*, *lēoh* (OHG. *lih*), *lend thou*; *wioh*, *wēoh*, *idol*, cp. OHG. *wih*, *holy*; *lion*, *lēon* (OHG. *lihan*), *to lend* (§ 68); *lioht*, *lēoht* (Goth. *leihts*), adj. *light*.

4. THE INFLUENCE OF INITIAL PALATALS.

§ 56. Between initial palatal *c* (§ 166), *g* (= Germanic *ǵ*, § 168), *ǵ* (= Germanic *j*, § 150), *sc*, and the following palatal vowel, a glide was developed in prim. OE., which combined with the

vowel to form a rising diphthong, and then at a later period the rising diphthong became a falling diphthong through the shifting of the stress from the second to the first element of the diphthong (see § 5, note 2). In this manner prim. OE. æ, e, ē became ea, ie, ēa in WS. :—

æ became ea (older eǣ), as *ceaf*, *chaff*; *ceaster* (Lat. *castra*), *city*, *fortress*; *geaf* (Goth. *gaf*), *he gave*; *geat* (O.Icel. *gat*), *gale*, *opening*; *sceal* (Goth. *skal*), *I shall*; *sceatt* (Goth. *skatts*), *money*, *property*.

e became ie (older ié), as *cieres*, *cires* (Lat. acc. *cerasum*), *cherry-tree*; *giefan* (OHG. *geban*), *to give*; *forgetan* (OS. *forgetan*), *to forget*; *giest*, *yeast*, cp. OHG. *jesan*, *to ferment*; *scieran* (OHG. *sceran*), *to shear*; *sciold*, *shield*.

ē became ēa (older eā through the intermediate stage eǣ), as *cēace*, *jaw*; *forgēaton*, *they forgot*; *gēafon*, *they gave*; *gēar* (OHG. *jār*), *year*; *scēap* (OHG. *scāf*), *sheep*; *scēaron*, *they shared*.

NOTE.—1. ēa became ē (§ 67) and ie became i (§ 67) in late WS.

2. Forms like *ceald*, *cold*; *cealf*, *calf*; *geard*, *yard*; *scealt*, *thou shalt*; *ceorfan*, *to carve*; *georn*, *eager*, are due to breaking, which was older than the influence of initial palatals upon a following æ, e.

3. The combinations *scǣ-*, *scō-* were often written *sceǣ-*, *sceō-* with e to denote the palatal pronunciation of the *sc-*, as *sceacan*, *to shake*, *sceādan*, *to divide*, *sceolde*, *I should*, *sceōh*, *shoe*, beside *scacan*, *scādan*, *scolde*, *scōh*.

4. In forms like *gioc*, *geoc* (OHG. *joh*), *yoke*; *giong*, *geong* (OHG. *jung*), *young*; *geōmor* (OHG. *jāmar*), *sad*, the *io*, *eo*, *eō* may have been rising diphthongs, but it is difficult to determine how far they were diphthongs at all, and how far the *i*, *e* were merely inserted to indicate the palatal nature of the *g* = Germanic *j* (§ 150).

5. For WS. *ea* Anglian has æ beside *ea*, and Ken. *e*, as *cæster* (*ceaster*), *gæt* (*geat*), *scæl* (*sceal*), Ken. *cester*, *get*, *scel*. *e* also occurs occasionally in Mercian.

6. For WS. *ie*, *ēa* Anglian and Ken. have *e*, *ē*, as *gefa(n)*, *sceld*, *gēfon*, *gēr*, *scēf*.

5. UMLAUT (MUTATION).

a. Palatal Umlaut.

§ 57. Palatal umlaut, generally called i-umlaut, is the modification (palatalization or fronting) of an accented vowel through the influence of an *i* or *j* which originally stood in the following syllable. This process took place in prehistoric OE.—probably in the sixth century—and the *i* or *j* had for the most part disappeared in the oldest OE. records. The *i*, which remained, mostly became *e* at an early period (§ 84 note), so that for the proper understanding of the forms which underwent i-umlaut it is necessary to compare them with the corresponding forms of some other Germanic language, especially with the Gothic. The result of i-umlaut is generally the fronting of guttural (back) vowels, as *a* to *e*, *u* to *y*. It rarely consists in the raising of front vowels, as in *æ* to *e*, *ǣ* to *īe*. The simple vowels and diphthongs which underwent i-umlaut in OE. are : *a(o)*, *æ*, *o*, *u* ; *ā*, *ō*, *ū* ; *ea*, *io* ; *ēa*, *īo* :—

a(o) > *e* (but *æ* in the oldest period of the language), as *ende*, Goth. *andeis*, stem *andja-*, *end* ; *lengra*, OHG. *lengiro*, *longer* ; *lengp(u)* from **langipu*, *length* ; *sendan*, Goth. *sandjan*, *to send* ; pl. *menn*, prim. Germanic **manniz* : sing. *mann*, *man*. *bærnan*, Goth. *brannjan*, *to burn* ; *ærnan*, Goth. *rannjan*, *to run*, *gallop*, with metathesis of *r* and preservation of the older stage of umlaut.

æ > *e*, as *bedd*, Goth. *badi*, *bed* ; *bet(e)ra*, Goth. *batiza*, *better* ; *hebban*, Goth. *hafjan*, *to raise* ; *hell*, Goth. *halja*, *hell* ; *here*, Goth. *harjis*, *army* ; *settan*, Goth. *satjan*, *to set*.

o > *e* (older *œ*). All native words containing this umlaut are new formations due to levelling or analogy, because prim. Germanic *u* did not become *o* in OE. when followed by an *i* or *j* in the next syllable (§ 23). Examples are : dat. sing. *dehter*, *to a daughter*, from **dohtri* with *o* levelled out from the other cases (e. g. nom. *dohctor*), the regular form would be **dyhter*

from *duhtri; efes (OHG. obasa) beside yfes, *eaves*, cp. Goth. ubizwa, *porch*; pl. nom. acc. exen, beside nom. sing. oxa, *ox*; mergen (Goth. maúrgins), beside morgen, *morning*.

u > y, as byegan, Goth. bugjan, *to buy*; cyning, OHG. kuning, *king*; cynn, Goth. kuni, *race, generation*; gyden, OHG. gutin, *goddess*; gylden, OHG. guldin, *golden*; yfel, Goth. ubils, *evil*; and similarly in early Lat. loanwords, as cylen (Lat. culina), *kiln*; cycene (late Lat. coquina, cucina), *kitchen*; mynster (Lat. monasterium), *minster* (see § 48).

ā > æ (Ken. ē), as ænig, *any*: ān, *one*; hæþ, Goth. háipi, *heath*; hēlan, Goth. hāiljan, *to heal*; hwæte, Goth. hwaiteis, *wheat*; sǣ, Goth. sáiws, prim. Germanic *saiwiz, *sea*.

ō > ē (older œ), as fēt, OS. fōti, prim. Germanic *fōtiz, *feet*; dēman, Goth. dōmjan, *to judge*; dat. sing. brēþer from *brōþri: nom. brōþor, *brother*; sēcan, Goth. sōkjan, *to seek*; ewēn from *kwōni-, older *kwēniz, Goth. qēns, *queen, wife* (§ 49); ēhtan from *ōhtjan, OS. āhtian, *to persecute*; fēhþ, OS. fāhid, *he seizes* (§ 20); ēst from *ōsti-, older *anstiz, Goth. ansts, *favour*; tēþ, prim. Germanic *tanþiz, *teeth* (§ 50).

ū > ŷ, as brȳest from *brūkis, *thou enjoyest*; mȳs from prim. Germanic *mūsiz, *mice*, rȳman, OS. rūmian, *to make room*; cȳpan from *kūþjan, older *kunþjan, Goth. gaswi-kunþjan, *to make known* (§ 50).

ea > ie (later i, y), as fiellan from *fealljan, Goth. *falljan, *to fell*; fielp from *feallip, *he falls*; ieldra, Goth. alpiza, *older*; ierfe, Goth. arbi, *inheritance*; wierman, Goth. warmjan, *to warm*; hliehhan, Goth. hlahjan, *to laugh*; sliehþ, Goth. slahit, *he slays* (§ 51); cietel, Lat. cattilus, *kettle*; giest, Goth. gasts, prim. Germanic *gastiz, *guest*; scieppan, Goth. skapjan, *to create* (§ 56).

io > ie (later i, y), in WS., as hierde from *hiordi, OHG. hirti, *shepherd*; ierre, OHG. irri, *angry*; smierwan, OHG. smirwen, *to anoint*; fieht, OHG. fihit, *he fights*; siehþ, OHG. sihit, *he sees*, see § 51.

ēa > ie (later ī, ŷ), as geliefan, Goth. galáubjan, *to believe*;

hieran, Goth. *háusjan*, to *hear*; *hiehst(a)*, Goth. *háuhists*, *highest*; *nied*, Goth. *náups*, prim. Germanic **naudiz*, *need*, see §§ 17-18.

io > *ie* (later *i*, *y*), *ciesp* from **kiosip*, Goth. *kiusip*, *he chooses*; *tiehþ*, from **tiohiþ*, *he leads, draws*; *liehtan*, Goth. *liuhtjan*, to *give light*, see § 24; *geliehtan* from **liohtjan*, to *lighten, make easier*; *liehþ*, OHG. *līhit*, *he lends*, see § 55.

NOTE.—1. The i-umlaut of *a* before *l* + consonant and of *ea* before *h* + consonant is *æ* (also *e*) in Anglian and *œ* (later *ø*) in Ken., as Anglian *ældra*, Ken. *ældra* later *eldra*, = WS. *ieldra*, *older*; Angl. *mæht*, Ken. *mæht* later *mœht*, = WS. *mieht*, *power, might*; Angl. *hlæhha(n)* = WS. *hliehhan*, to *laugh*. The i-umlaut of *ea* before *r* + consonant is *e* in the non-WS. dialects, as *erfe* = WS. *ierfe*, *inheritance*.

2. *i* for *y* (= the i-umlaut of *u*) occurs occasionally in early WS., as *cyning*, *king*, *scildig*, *guilty*, *disig*, *foolish*, beside *cyning*, *scyldig*, *dysig*. In late WS. and Anglian *y* was often unrounded to *i*, especially before *e* and after *c*, *g*, *h*, and then *y* often came to be written for original *i*. *ȳ* became *ē* in the ninth century in Ken.; *ǣ* also became *ē* in this dialect, and then the old traditional spelling with *ȳ* was sometimes wrongly used, as *cyrran* for *cerran* = WS. *cierran*, to *turn*; *yfter* for *efter* = WS. *æfter*, *after*; *mȳgþ* for *mægþ* = WS. *mægþ*, *family, kindred*; *lȳssa* for *lēssa* = WS. *lēssa*, *less*. In late Ken. *ǣ* was also often written for *ē*.

3. *ie* only occurs in WS. and is therefore a special characteristic of this dialect. The *īe* became *ȳ* in the ninth century in some parts of the WS. area and in the other parts it became *ī* (see § 67). In the ninth century *ie* was often written *i* and conversely old *i* was often written *ie*, which shows that the two sounds had fallen together in *i*. Corresponding to WS. *ie* preceded by an initial palatal *c-*, *g-*, *sc-* (§ 56) the other dialects have *e*, as *cele*, *cold*, *gest*, *guest*, *sceppan*, to *create* = WS. *ciele*, *giest*, *sceieppan*.

4. The i-umlaut of *ēa* (= WS. *īe*) is *ō* in the non-WS. dialects, as *gelēfan*, *hēran*, *nēd* = WS. *geliefan*, *hieran*, *nied*.

5. The i-umlaut of *īo* did not take place in the non-WS. dialects, so that we have *io* in Nth. and Ken., and *io* (*eo*) in Mercian, as Nth. Ken. *hiorde*, *shepherd*, *iorre*, *angry*, Mercian *heorde*, *iorre* = WS. *hierde*, *ierre*. Nth. Ken. *io* (also written *īa* in the latter dialect), Mercian *io* beside *ēo* (later mostly *ēo*), as Nth. Ken. *dīore*, *dear*, *liode*, *people*, but in Mercian *io* beside *ēo*.

§ 58. *a* became *æ* when followed by an umlauted vowel in the

next syllable, as *æces* (æx) from **akysi*, older **akusi*-, *axe*; and similarly *æpele* from **apali* (OS. *aðali*), *noble*; *gædeling* (OS. *gaduling*), *companion*; *hærfest* from **harubist*, *harvest*; *mægdēn* from **magadīn* (OHG. *magatīn*), *maiden*. The *æ* in the above examples is sometimes called the secondary umlaut of *a*.

NOTE.—I. The *a* in the stem-syllable of the present participle and gerund of strong verbs belonging to class VI (§ 352) is due to the *a* of the infinitive, as *farende* for **færende* from **farandi*, *travelling*; *farenne* for **færenne* from **farannjai*.

2. The regular forms of the second and third pers. singular of the pres. indicative of strong verbs belonging to class VI (§ 352) would have *e*, as in OHG. *feris*, *thou goest*; *ferit*, *he goes*, but in OE. the *a* of the other forms of the present was extended to the second and third pers. singular, and then *a* became *æ* by i-umlaut, as *færest*, *færeþ*.

b. Guttural Umlaut.

§ 59. Guttural umlaut is the modification of an accented vowel (*a*, *e*, *i*) through the influence of a primitive OE. guttural vowel (*u*, *ö*, *a*) in the next syllable whereby a guttural glide was developed after the vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, which then combined with them to form the diphthongs *ea*, *eo*, *io*. This sound-change took place about the end of the seventh century. As a rule umlaut only took place before a single consonant. When the vowel which caused umlaut was *u*, it is called *u-umlaut*, and when *ö* or *a*, it is called *o/a-umlaut*. In WS. it was limited to the *u-umlaut* of *e*, and to the *u*-, *o/a-umlaut* of *i*, and generally only took place before labials and liquids :—

e > *eo*, as *eofor* (OHG. *ebur*), *boar*; *heofun*, *heofon*, *heaven*; *heolster* from older *helustr*, *hiding-place*; *meolu*, *meal*; *heorut*, *heorot*, *hart*; *teoru*, *tar*. The regular forms due to *u-umlaut* were often obliterated by levelling, as *melu*, with *mel-* from the gen. *melwes*, dat. *melwe*; pl. nom. *speru*, *spears*, dat. *sperum*, due to the forms of the singular, as *spere*, gen. *speres*, gen. pl. *spera*; and similarly with many other forms. When the *e* was preceded by *w*, umlaut took place before consonants which

generally prevented it from taking place, as *hweogol*, *wheel*; *sweotol*, *plain, clear*; *sweostor*, *sister*.

i > io, which then became eo in the ninth century:—

1. u-umlaut of i, as *cliopude*, -ode, beside inf. *clipian*, *to call*; *cliopung*, *calling*; *mioluc*, *miolc* (later *mile*), *milk*; *sioluc*, *silk*; *sioluf*, *siolfor*, *silver*; pret. *tiolude*, -ode, beside inf. *tilian*, *to aim at*. The regular forms due to u-umlaut were mostly obliterated in WS. by levelling and new formations, as pl. *clifu*, *cliffs*, *scipu*, *ships* (Anglian *cliofu*, *sciopu*), due to levelling out the stem-forms of those cases which had no u in the ending. Pret. plural *drifun*, -on, *they drove*, *gripun*, -on, *they seized*, due to preterites like *bitun*, -on, *they bit*, *stigun*, -on, *they ascended*. Pret. *tilode* beside *tiolode*, formed direct from the inf. *tilian*. And conversely forms like inf. *cliopian* (*cleopian*), *tiolian* (*teolian*), were formed from the pret. *cliopode*, *tiolode*.

2. o/a-umlaut of i, as *liofas(t)*, *thou livest*; *liofaþ*, *he lives*, beside pret. *lifdes(t)*, *lifde*; *hiora*, *heora*, older *hira*, *their, of them*.

NOTE.—1. u- and o/a-umlaut of a to ea only took place in Mercian, as *eaalu*, *ale*; *beadu*, *battle*; *featu*, *vats*; *heafuc*, *hawk*; *steapul*, *foundation*; pret. *gleadude*, -ode, *he rejoiced*, from which a new inf. *gleadian* for *gladian* was formed. *fearan*, *to go, travel*; gen. pl. *feata*, *of vats*. The ea then became æ before c and g, as *mægum*, *they can*; *dræca*, *dragon*; *dægum*, *days* = WS. *magun*, -on, *draca*, *dagas*.

2. e became eo, and i became io by u-, o/a-umlaut in Ken. before all single consonants, and in Anglian (but Nth. generally ea) before all single consonants except gutturals (c, g). For examples before labials and liquids see above. Examples before other consonants are:—

e > eo (but Nth. generally ea), as *eosol*, *donkey*; *meodu*, *mead (drink)*; *meotod*, *creator* = WS. *esol*, *medu*, *metod*; Ken. *breogo*, *prince*; *reogol* (Lat. *regula*), *rule* = WS. and Anglian *brego*, *regol*. *beoran*, *to bear*; *eotan*, *to eat*; *weofan*, *to weave* = WS. *beran*, *etan*, *wefan*; Ken. *weogas*, *ways*; *spreocan*, *to speak* = WS. and Anglian *wegas*, *sprecan*; Nth. *beara(n)*, *eata(n)* = WS. *beran*, *etan*.

i > io (but in Mercian the io became eo in the ninth century), as *liomu*, *limbs*; *siodu* (WS. *sidu*), *custom*; *sionu* (WS. *sinu*), *sinew*; Ken. *siocol*, *sickle*; *stiogol*, *stile* = WS. and Anglian *sicol*, *stigol*. *behionan*, *on this side of*; *glioda*, *kite, vulture*; *niomap*, *they take*;

piosan (WS. *pisan*), *peas*; *wiotan*, *to know*; Ken. *stiocap* = WŚ. and Anglian *stic up*, *he pricks*.

3. WS. *ealu*, *ale*, and forms like *eafora*, *son*; *heafuc*, *-oc*, *hawk*, &c., are all originally from the Mercian dialect. And forms like *liomu*, *limbs*; *niopor*, *lower*; *behionan*, *on this side of*; *wiotan*, *to know*, &c., which occasionally occur in WS. prose are not pure WS.

6. THE INFLUENCE OF *w*.

§ 60. Final *ew* became *eu*, and then *eu* became *ēo* at the same time as Germanic *eu* became *ēo* (§ 43), as sing. nom. *cnēo*, Germanic stem-form **knewa-*, *knee*; *trēo*, *tree*; *þēo*, *slave, servant*. See § 149. Antevocalic *ew* became *eow*, as sing. gen. *cneowes*, *treowes*, *þeowes*. Forms like *cnēow*, *trēow*, *þēow* had the *w* from the inflected forms. And conversely forms like *cnēowes*, *trēowes*, *þēowes* had *ēo* from the uninflected forms.

§ 61. *a* became *e* by i-umlaut, and then at a later period the *e* became *eo* before *w*, as *eowestre* (cp. Goth. *awistr*), *sheep-fold*; *meowle* (Goth. *mawilō*), *girl*; *streowede* beside *strewede* (Goth. *strawida*), *he strewed*.

§ 62. Prim. Germanic *aww* (= Goth. *aggw*) became *auw* in West Germanic which regularly became *ēaw* in OE. (§ 42), as *dēaw* (Goth. **daggwa-*), *dew*; *glēaw*, *wise*, cp. Goth. *glaggwō*, *diligently*; *hēawan* (Goth. **haggwan*), *to hew*.

Prim. Germanic *eww* (= Goth. *iggw*) became *euw* in West Germanic, and then *euw* became *ēow* in OE. (§ 43), as *trēow* (OS. *treuwa*), *trust, faith*, cp. Goth. *triggwa*, *covenant*.

Prim. Germanic *ewwj* became *īowj* through the intermediate stages *iwwj*, *iuwj* (cp. § 24), and then *īowj* became *īew(e)* in WS. (§ 57) and *īow(e)*, *ēow(e)* in the other dialects, as WS. *getrīewe*, non-WS. *getrīowe*, *getrēowe* (OHG. *gitriuwī*), prim. Germanic **-trewwjaz*, cp. Goth. *triggws*, *true, faithful*. And similarly West Germanic *iwwj* from prim. Germanic *ewj* (§ 135), as WS. *nīewe*, *nīwe*, non-WS. *nīowe*, *nēowe*, prim. Germanic stem-form **newja-*, *new*.

§ 63. The initial combination *weo-*, of whatever origin, became

wu- (rarely **wo-**) in late WS., as **swurd**, *sword*, **swuster**, *sister*, **wurpan** beside **worpan**, *to throw*, **wurpan**, *to become*, beside older **sweord**, **sweostor**, **weorpan**, **weorpan**; but **worc**, *work*, **worold**, *world*, beside **wure**, **wuold**, older **weorc**, **weorold**.

y, of whatever origin, became **u** in late WS. in the initial combination **wyr** + consonant, as **wurm** from older **wyrm**, *worm*; **wursa** from older **wyrsa**, still older **wiersa** (§ 67), *worse*. And then **wyr** + consonant sometimes came to be written for older **wur** + consonant, as **cwyrn**, older **cwior**n, **cweorn**, *hand-mill*; **swyrd**, *sword*; **swyster**, *sister*, see above.

The initial combination **wio-**, of whatever origin, generally became **wu-** in WS., as **c(w)ucu** from older **cwioeu**, **cwicu**, *alive*; **betwux** (**betux**), *betwixt*; **wucu** (Goth. **wikō**), *week*; **wuduwe** (Goth. **widuwō**), *widow*; **wuht** (OHG. **wiht**), *creature*, *thing*.

NOTE.—1. The initial combination **weo-** became **wo-** in late Nth., but remained in Mercian and Ken., as Nth. **sword**, *sword*; **worpa**, *to become*; **worold**, *world*; **wosa** from older **weosa** = WS. **wesan**, *to be*.

2. The initial combination **wio-** generally became **wu-** in Anglian, but remained in Ken., as Anglian **wudu**, Ken. **wiodu**, *wood*; **wuta**, *to know*. But before gutturals we have **wi-** in Anglian, as **betwix**, **cwic(u)**, **wicu**, **wiht**. The **wio-** became **wu-** at an early period in Anglian, and then **u** became **y** by i-umlaut, as **wyrsa**, *worse*; **wyrrest(a)**, *worst*; **wyrpe**, *worthy*.

3. **ē** was often rounded to **œ** after **w** in Nth., as **wœg**, *way*, **twœlf**, *twelve*, **cwœpa**, *to say* = WS. **weg**, **twelf**, **cwepan**; **huœr**, *where*, **wœpen**, *weapon*, **wœron**, *they were* = WS. **hwær**, **wæpen**, **wæron**.

§ 64. Prim. Germanic **ā** (§ 18) became **ā** before **w**, as **blāwan** (OHG. **blāen**), *to blow*; **onāwan** (OHG. **knāen**), *to know*; **sāwan** (OHG. **sāen**), *to sow*; **sāwon** (OS. **sāwun**), *they saw*.

§ 65. Unaccented **ā** = Germanic **ai** (§§ 17-18) became **ō** when originally followed by **w**, as **ō** (Goth. **áiw**), *ever*, beside accented **ā**; and similarly in the compounds **ōwper**, *one of two*, **nōwper**, *neither of two*, **ōwiht**, *anything*, **nōwiht**, *nothing*, beside **āwper**, &c.

7. THE INFLUENCE OF LABIALS, &c.

§ 66. In a certain number of words we have *u* in OE. where we should regularly expect *o* (see § 23). This occurs especially before and after labials, as *buce* (OHG. *boc*), *buck*; *bucca*, *he-goat*; *fugol* (OHG. *fogal*), *bird*, *fowl*; *full* (OHG. *fol*), *full*; *furþor*, *further*; *furþum*, *even*; *lufian*, *to love*; *lufu*, *love*; *murenian*, *to murmur*, *grumble*; *murnan*, *to mourn*; *spura* beside *spora*, *spur*; *spurnan* beside *spornan*, *to kick*; *ufan* (OHG. *obana*), *above*; *ufor*, *higher*; *wulf* (OHG. *wolf*), *wolf*; *wulle* (OHG. *wolla*), *wool*; *cnucian* beside *cnocian*, *to knock*; *scurf*, *scurf*; *turf*, *turf*.

8. MONOPHTHONGIZATION (SMOOTHING).

§ 67. Under certain conditions the diphthongs *eo*, *io*, and *ea* were smoothed to monophthongs during the OE. period, and the diphthong *ie* was always smoothed to *i* (ǣ) :—

The diphthongs *eo*, *io* before *h* + dental and *x* (= *hs*), when not followed by a guttural vowel, became *ie* at an earlier period—before the time of Alfred—and then later the *ie* became *i* (rarely *y*), as *cneoht*, *cnieht*, *cniht*, *boy*; *reoht*, *rieht*, *riht* (*ryht*), *right*; *seox*, *siex*, *six*, *six*; *Pihtisc*, *Pictish*; *Wioht*, *Wieht*, *Wiht* (*Wyht*), *Wight*; *gewiht* (*gewyhte*), *weight*; *stiht(i)an*, *to arrange*; but regularly *cneohtas*, *boys*; *Peohtas*, *Picts*; *feohtan*, *to fight*. Then levelling out often took place in both directions, whence *cnihtas*, *Pihtas* beside the regular forms *cneohtas*, *Peohtas*; and *cneoht*, *gefeoht*, *fight*, beside the regular forms *cniht*, *gefiht*.

ea became *e* in late WS. through the intermediate stage *æ* before *h* + consonant (also *x* = *hs*) and simple *h*, as *ehta*, *eight*, *wexan*, *to grow*, *seh*, *he saw* = early WS. *eahta*, *weaxan*, *seah* (§ 51), and after initial palatal *c*-, *g*-, *sc*-, as *celf*, *calf*, *gef*, *he gave*, *scelt*, *thou shalt* = early WS. *cealf*, *geaf*, *scealt* (§ 56).

ēa became *ē* in late WS. through the intermediate stage *ǣ* before *c*, *g*, *h*, and also after initial palatal *c*-, *g*-, *sc*-, when not

followed by a guttural vowel in the next syllable, as *bēcen*, *beacon*, *bēg*, *ring*, *bracelet*, *hēh*, *high* = early WS. *bēacen*, *bēag*, *hēah*; *cēp*, *cheap*, *gēt*, *he poured out*, *scēt*, *he shot* = early WS. *cēap*, *gēat*, *scēat*; *cēce*, *jaw*, *gēr*, *year*, *scēp*, *sheep* = early WS. *cēace*, *gēar*, *scēap*; but regularly pl. gen. and dat. *gēara*, *gēarum* (§ 56).

īe, of whatever origin, became *ī*, *ȳ* in early WS., although the *īe* was often retained in writing, and in the ninth century *īe* was sometimes written for old *ī*, which shows that the two sounds had fallen together, see § 57, note 3. Before certain consonants, especially before *c*, *g*, *h*, old *ȳ* (§ 57) also became *ī* at an early period in some parts of the WS. area, although the *ȳ* beside *ī* was preserved in writing even in late WS., and then *ȳ* also came to be written for *ī* from older *īe* :—

ie > *i*, *y*, as *ildu*, *old age*; *irfe*, *yrfe*, *inheritance*; *miht*, *power*, *might*; *niht*, *night*; *hlīhhan*, *to laugh*; *cile*, *cyle*, *cold*; *scippan*, *to create*; *hirde*, *hyrde*, *shepherd* (§ 57).

īe > *ī*, *ȳ*, as *hīran*, *hȳran*, *to hear*; *nīd*, *nȳd*, *need* (§ 57); *lihtan*, *lȳhtan*, *to give light* (§ 24).

NOTE.—1. In Anglian the diphthongs *ēa*, *ēo*, *īo* were smoothed to the monophthongs *ǣ* (later *æ* (*e*), *ē*), *ē*, *ī* before *c*, *g*, *h*; liquid + *c*, *g*, or *h*; *hh*, *ht*, and *x* (= older *hs*) :—

ea became *ǣ*, which remained in the oldest glosses, and then later became *e* before *r* + *c*, *g*, or *h*, as *sēh*, *he saw*, *hlēhha(n)*, *to laugh*, *fēht*, *he fought*, *mēht*, *power*, *might*, *wēxan*, *to grow* = WS. *seah*, *hlīhhan* (§ 57), *feahht*, *weaxan* (§ 51); *ǣrc*, *ark*, *mǣrg*, *marrow*, *fǣrh*, *boar*, *pig* = later *erc*, *mērg*, *ferh* = WS. *earc*, *mearg*, *fearh* (§ 51). *æ* beside *ea* occurs after initial palatal *c*-, *g*-, *sc*-, as *cæster*, *ceaster*, *city*, *fortress*; *gæt*, *geat*, *gate*; *scǣl*, *sceal*, *shall* (§ 56).

eo became *e*, as *seh*, *see thou*, *werc*, *work*, *dwerġ*, *dwarf*, *ferh*, *life*, *selh*, *seal*, *fehhta(n)*, *to fight*, *sex*, *six* = early WS. *seoh*, *weorc*, *dweorg*, *feorh*, *seolh*, *feohtan*, *seox* (§ 52).

io became *i*, as *milc* from *miolc*, older *mioluc*, *milk* (§ 59. 1); *birce*, *birch-tree*, *gebirhta(n)*, *to make bright*, *rihta(n)*, *to set straight*, *getih-hia(n)*, *to arrange*, *think*, *consider*, *mixen*, *dunghill* = WS. *bierce*, *gebierhtan*, *riehtan* (§ 57), *getiohhian* (§ 53), *mioxen*, *meoxen* (cp. § 53).

ēa became ē later ē before c, g, h, as *bēcēn*, *beacon*, *lēc*, *leek*, *ēge*, *eye*, *bōg*, *ring*, *bracelet*, *hēh*, *high*, *tēh*, *he drew*, later *bēcen*, *lēc*, *ēge*, *bēg*, *hēh*, *tēh* = WS. *bēacen*, &c. (§ 42).

The i-umlaut of ēa also became ē in the non-WS. dialects, as *gelēfan*, *to believe*, *hēran*, *to hear*, *nēd*, *need* = early WS. *geliefan*, *hieran*, *nied*.

eo (Nth ēa, § 43, note 2) became ē before c, g, h and ht, as *rēca(n)*, *to smoke*, *sēc*, *sick*, *flēga(n)*, *to fly*, *lēga(n)*, *to lie*, *pēh*, *thigh*, *tēh*, *draw thou*, *lēht*, *a light* = WS. *rēocan*, *sēoc*, &c.

io became ī before c, h, ht, as *lih*, *lend thou* = WS. *lih*, *lēoh* (§ 55); *gelihhta(n)* = WS. *liehtan*, *to lighten*, *make easier* (§ 57); *cīcen*, older **kioken* from **kiukin*, *chicken*; *lihhta(n)* = WS. *liehtan*, *to give light* (§ 24).

2. Early Mercian ē, of whatever origin, became ī before ht, hs in late Mercian, as *liht* older *lēht* = WS. *lēoht*, *a light*; *liht* = WS. *lēoht*, adj. *light*; *nihsta* = WS. *niehst(a)*, *nearest*.

3. Late Ken. has ē for WS. īe, as *eldra*, *older*, *felp*, *he falls*, *erfe*, *inheritance*, *slehp*, *he slays* = WS. *ieldra*, *fielp*, *ierfe*, *sliehp* (§ 57); *hēran* = WS. *hieran*, *to hear*.

4. eo, io became i in late Ken., as *riht* older *reoht*; *Wiht* older *Wioht*, *Wight*.

5. For the monophthongization of eo, io in the initial combinations *weo-*, *wio-*, see § 63.

9. VOWEL CONTRACTION.

§ 68. Vowel contraction chiefly took place in OE. when an intervocalic h, w, or j had disappeared.

A long vowel or diphthong absorbed a following short vowel, and when the diphthong was short it became lengthened thereby, as *rā* beside *rāha*, *roe*; pl. *tān* from **tāhan*, *toes*; *tā* older **tāhæ*, *toe*; *gæst* from **gā-is* older **gā-is*, *thou goest*; *gāp* from **gā-ip*, *he goes*; gen. *sæs* from **sā-es* older **sāwis* beside nom. *sæ*, *sea* (§ 57); *dæst* from **dō-is*, *thou doest*; *dēp* from **dō-ip*, *he does*; gen. *drȳs* from **drȳæs* beside nom. *drȳ*, *magician*; *fōn* from **fōhan*, *to seize*; *fō* from **fōhu*, *I seize*; pl. *scōs* from **scōhas*, beside sing. *scōh*, *shoe*; dat. pl. *prūm* from **prūhum* beside nom. sing. *prūh*, *trough*. *ēa* from **eahu*, *water*; *ēar* from **eahur*, *ear of corn*; *slēan* from **sleahan*, *to slay*; *slēa* from **sleahu*, *I slay* (§ 51); *sēon* from **seohan*, *to see*; *sēo* from **seohu*, *I see*; gen. *fēos* from **feohæs* beside nom. *feoh*,

cattle; *swēor* from **sweohur*, *father-in-law*. *nēar* from **nēahur*, *nearer*; gen. *hēas* from **hēahæs*: nom. *hēah*, *high*. *tēon* from **tēohan*, *to draw, lead*; *tēo* from **tēohu*, *I draw, lead*; *rēon* from *rēo(w)un*, *they rowed*; *līon*, *lēon* from **līohan* older **lihan*, *to lend*; *lēo* from **liohu*, *I lend*.

§ 69. *a + u* (from older *wu* or vocalized *w*) became *ēa*, as *clēa* from **cla(w)u*, *claw*; neut. pl. *fēa* from **fa(w)u*, *few*; *strēa* from **straw-*, *straw*.

e + u (from *w*) became *ēo*, as *cnēo* from **cnew(a)-*, *knee*; *trēo* from **trew(a)-*, *tree*.

i or *ij + guttural vowel* became *īo* (*ēo*), as *bīo*, *bēo* (OHG. *bīa*, Germanic stem-form **bijōn-*), *bee*; *fīond*, *fēond* (Goth. *fijands*), *enemy*; *frīond*, *frēond* (Goth. *frijōnds*), *friend*; nom. acc. neut. *þrīo*, *þrēo* from **þri(j)u* = Goth. *þrija*, *three*; *hīo*, *hēo* from **hi + u*, *she*.

NOTE.—Special Anglian contractions are:—

æ + æ > ē, as *slē* from **slæhæ* older **sleahæ*, *I may slay*.

e + æ > ē, as *gesē* from **-sehæ* older **-seohæ*, *I may see*.

ē + i > ē, as *nēst(a)* from **nēhist(a)* = WS. *nīehst(a)*, *nearest*.

ī + i > ī, as *sīs(t)* from **sīhis* = WS. *siehist*, *thou seest*; *sīp* from **sīhip* = WS. *siehp*, *he sees*; *tīp* from **tīhip* = WS. *tiehp*, *he draws, leads*.

Nth. *a + a > ā*, as *slā* from **slaha(n)*, *to slay*; *pwā* from **pwaha(n)*, *to wash*.

10. THE LENGTHENING OF SHORT VOWELS.

§ 70. From our knowledge of ME. phonology it is clear that short vowels must have been lengthened some time during the OE. period before certain consonant combinations, especially before a liquid or nasal + another voiced consonant. But it is impossible to ascertain the date at which these lengthenings took place, and whether they took place in all the dialects at the same time.

§ 71. Final short vowels were lengthened in monosyllables, as *hwā* (Goth. *hwas*), *who*; *swā* (Goth. *swa*), *so*; *hē*, *he*; *mē*, *me*; *wē*, *we*.

§ 72. Short vowels were lengthened through the loss of *g*

before a following consonant, as *māden*, *maiden*, *sāde*, *he said*, *wān*, *wagon*, beside older *mægden*, *sægde*, *wægn*; *brēdan*, *to brandish*, *rēn*, *rain*, beside older *bregdan*, *regn*; *bridel*, *bridle*, *frinan*, *to ask*, *sipe*, *scythe*, beside older *brigdel*, *frignan*, *sigpe*; *brōden* beside older *brogden*, *brandished*, *woven*.

§ 73. By the loss of a nasal before a following voiceless spirant, as *ōper* (Goth. *anþar*), *other*; *gōs* (OHG. *gans*), *goose*; *sōfte* (OHG. *samfto*), *softly*; *fif* (Goth. *fimf*), *five*; *swiþ* (Goth. *swinþs*), *strong*; *ōūþ* (Goth. *kunþs*), *known*; *fūs* (OHG. *funs*), *ready*, *eager for*. See § 50.

§ 74. By the loss of *h* after *l*, *r*, before a following vowel, as gen. *hōles* beside nom. *holh*, *hollow*; pl. gen. *sūla*, dat. *sūlum*, beside nom. sing. *sulh*, *plough*; gen. sing. *fūre*, pl. gen. *fūra*, dat. *fūrum*, beside nom. sing. *furh*, *furrow*. See § 76.

§ 75. Short diphthongs were lengthened by the loss of intervocalic *h*, as *slēan* from **sleahan* (Goth. *slahan*), *to slay*; *sēon* from **seohan* (OHG. *sehan*), *to see*. See § 68.

§ 76. By the loss of antevocalic *h* after *l* and *r*, as gen. *sēales*, *wēales*, *fēares*, *mēares*, beside nom. *sealh*, *seal*, *wealh*, *foreigner*, *fearh*, *boar*, *pig*, *mearh*, *horse*; gen. *sēoles*, *fēores*, beside nom. *seolh*, *seal*, *feorh*, *life*; *fēolan* from **feolhan* (Goth. *filhan*), *to hide*. See § 74.

II. THE SHORTENING OF LONG VOWELS.

§ 77. Long vowels were shortened during the OE. period before two consonants in polysyllabic forms, before combinations of three consonants, and before double consonants, as *enlefan* from older **ænlefan*, *eleven*; *samcucu* (from **sāmi*, older *sāmi* = OHG. *sāmi*), *half-dead*; *bledsian*, *bletsian* from **blōdisōjan*, *to bless*. Pl. *bremblas* beside sing. *brēm(b)el*, *bramble*. *bliss*, *joy*, *hlammæsse*, *Lammas*, *wimman*, *woman*, beside older *blīps*, *hlāfmæsse*, *wīfman*; *blæddre*, *bladder*, *deoppra*, *deeper*, beside older *blædre*, *dēopra*, see § 146.

§ 78. In the first or second elements of compounds which were no longer felt as such, as *sipþan*, *siopþan* from *sip* + *þan*,

since ; ēorod from eoh + rād, *troop of cavalry*. Adjectives ending in -lic (= OHG. -lih), as dēadlic, *deadly*.

12. THE FORMATION OF NEW DIPHTHONGS.

§ 79. OE. had far more words containing a diphthong than any other Germanic language. Besides those which were regularly developed from the prim. Germanic diphthongs (§§ 41-4), it also had a large number of words with new diphthongs due to sound-laws which operated at various periods of the language, such as breaking (§ 51), the influence of initial palatal consonants (§ 56), umlaut (§ 59), and vowel contraction (§§ 68-9). The OE. diphthongs which arose from the prim. Germanic diphthongs and those which were due to the above sound-laws were what are called impure diphthongs, i. e. the second element was an a, e, or o, but a number of pure diphthongs and triphthongs also arose, medially before consonants and finally, whose second element was an i or u (generally written w). The i-diphthongs mostly arose from the vocalization of palatal g after a palatal vowel with which it combined to form a diphthong, as late WS. dæi, dæig (Ken. dei), *day*, wei, weig (Ken. wei), *way* beside older dæg (Ken. deg), *weg* ; Nth. Ken. meiden, beside older megden (WS. mægden), *girl* ; late WS. Ken. þein, Nth. þeign beside older þegn, *servant* ; Ken. grēi (WS. græg), *grey* ; Nth. cēiga (WS. oiegan), *to call*. Regular forms with u-diphthongs and triphthongs are : gen. sǣwle, sǣule (Goth. sáiwalōs) beside nom. sǣwol, *soul* ; slǣwþ, Ken. slēuþ, *sloth* ; WS. cnǣwþ from cnǣweþ, older *cnāwip, *he knows* ; and similarly flēwþ, *it flows* ; meowle (Goth. mawilō), *girl* ; masc. nom. acc. pl. neowle beside nom. sing. neowol, *low, deep down*. New u-diphthongs and triphthongs often also arose from the levelling out of w into the uninflected from the inflected forms (§ 149), as snāw beside snā, *snow*, with w from snāwes, &c. ; and similarly stōw, stōu, *place* ; mǣw, mēu, mēaw, *seagull* ; dēaw, *dew* ; strēaw, *straw* ; onēow, *knee* ; þēow, *servant* ; WS. hīew, hīw beside non-WS. hīow, hēow, *shape, colour*.

CHAPTER IV

THE OE. DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRIMITIVE
GERMANIC VOWELS OF UNACCENTED SYLLABLES

§ 80. In the Germanic languages as in all the other languages which had predominantly stress accent, the Indg. vowels underwent far more changes in unaccented than in accented syllables. In final syllables there was a great tendency in all these languages for short vowels to disappear, for long vowels to become shortened, and then partly to disappear, and for diphthongs, whether originally short or long, to become monophthongs, and then to become shortened. These changes took place partly in prim. Germanic, and partly in the prehistoric and historic periods of the separate languages.

Before beginning, however, with the history of the Indg. vowels in final syllables, it is necessary to state what became of the Indg. consonants in final syllables, because the vowels which were originally final, and those which became final in prim. Germanic through the loss of final consonants, generally had the same fate:—

1. Indg. final **-m** became **-n** in prim. Germanic. This **-n** remained after a short accented vowel, and when protected by a particle, as Goth. *hvan*, OS. *hwan* = Lat. *quom*, *when*; OE. *pan*, *pon*, Goth. *pan* = Lat. *tum*, *then*; masc. acc. sing. OE. *pon-e*, late OE. *pæn-*, *pan-e*, Goth. *pan-a*, *the*, *that* = Skr. *tām*, Gr. *τόν*, Lat. *tum* in *is-tum*, but in all other forms it, as also Indg. final **-n**, disappeared in prim. Germanic with nasalization of the preceding vowel. And then during the prim. Germanic period, the short nasalized vowels became oral again, but the long nasalized vowels remained, and only became oral again in the separate languages. The oldest Norse runic inscriptions preserved the short vowels which became final through the loss of a final nasal, but in Goth. O.Icel. and the

West Germanic languages they underwent the same treatment as short vowels which were originally final, as acc. sing. **staina** = OE. **stān**, Goth. **stáin**, O.Icel. OHG. **stein**, OS. **stēn**, *stone*; acc. sing. OE. Goth. OS. **wulf**, O.Icel. **úlfr**, OHG. **wolf** = Lat. **lupum**, Gr. **λύκον**, *wolf*, see § 84. Acc. sing. of **ō**-stems, as OE. **giefe**, Goth. **giba**, OS. OHG. **geba**, *gift*, prim. Germanic ***gebō** (with nasalized **-ō**), older **-ōn**, **-ōm** = Indg. **-ām**; gen. pl. OE. O.Icel. **daga**, OS. **dago**, OHG. **tago**, *of days*, prim. Germanic ***dagō**, (with nasalized **-ō**), older **-ōn**, **-ōm** = Indg. **-ōm**; and similarly in the gen. pl. of all nouns, adjectives, and pronouns.

2 The Indg. final explosives (**t**, **d**) disappeared in prim. Germanic, except after a short accented vowel in monosyllables, and then the vowels which became final underwent the same treatment as original final vowels, as OE. **wile**, Goth. OS. OHG. **wili** from ***welīt**, *he will* = O.Lat. **velīt**; OE. O.Icel. OS. OHG. **bere**, Goth. **baíraí** = Skr. **bhárēt**, *he may bear*; OE. **bāeron**, Goth. **bērun** from an original form ***bhērnt**, *they bore* (§ 17); but OE. **hwæt**, O.Icel. **hvat**, OS. **hwat** = Lat. **quod**, *what*; OE. **æt**, Goth. O.Icel. OS. **at** = Lat. **ad**, *at*.

3. Prim. Germanic final **-z**, which arose from Indg. **-s** by Verner's law (§ 115), disappeared in the West Germanic languages, but became **-r** in O.Icel., and **-s** again in Goth., as OE. **dæg**, OS. **dag**, OHG. **tag**, O.Icel. **dagr**, Goth. **dags**, from prim. Germanic ***dagaz**, *day*. Prim. Germanic final **-nz** disappeared in prim. ON. and West Germanic, as acc. pl. O.Icel. **daga**, OHG. **taga** = Goth. **dagans**, *days*; O.Icel. **geste**, OS. OHG. **gesti** = Goth. **gastins**, *guests*.

4. Indg. final **-r** remained in prim. Germanic and also in the separate languages, as OE. **fæder**, Goth. **fadar**, O.Icel. **faðer**, OS. **fadar**, OHG. **fater** = Lat. **pater**, Gr. **πατήρ**, *father*.

NOTE.—The treatment of the Indg. final consonants in prim. Germanic may be stated in general terms thus:—With the exception of **-s** and **-r** all Indg. final consonants disappeared in prim. Germanic. In the case of the explosives it cannot be determined whether they had or had not undergone the first sound-shifting (§ 108).

I. THE SHORT VOWELS.

§ 81. Indg. final -a, -o (= prim. Germanic a, § 17), and -e disappeared in prim. Germanic, as OE. *wāt*, Goth. *wáit*, O.Icel. *veit*, OS. *wēt* = Gr. *οἶδα*, *I know*; OE. *æf*, *of*, Goth. O.Icel. OS. *af* = Gr. *ἀπο*, *of, from, away from*; gen. sing. OE. *dægæs*, older *dægæs*, Goth. *dagis*, *of a day*, from early prim. Germanic **ðagasa*, **ðagesa*, Indg. -oso, -eso, cp. O. Bulgarian *ðeso* = Goth. *hvis*, *whose*; voc. sing. OE. Goth. *wulf* = Lat. *lupe*, Gr. *λύκε*, *wolf*; imperative OE. O.Icel. *ber*, Goth. *baír* = Gr. *φέρε*, *bear thou*; OE. *fif*, Goth. *fimf* = Gr. *πέντε*, *five*.

§ 82. Indg. final -i, and prim. Germanic -u from older -un, -um = Indg. vocalic -m (§ 17) disappeared during the prim. Germanic period in words of more than two syllables, as OE. *bir(e)þ*, Goth. *baíriþ*, Indg. **bhéreti*, *he bears*; OE. *beraþ*, Goth. *baírand* = Gr. Dor. *φέρουσι*, *they bear*; acc. sing. OE. Goth. *guman*, from **gumanu(n)* = Lat. *hominem*, *man*.

§ 83. Indg. final -i and -u remained in prim. Germanic in dissyllabic words, but in the West Germanic languages they disappeared after long, but remained after short stem-syllables, as voc. sing. OE. *giest*, Goth. *gast*, from **gasti*: nom. **gastiz*, *guest*; OE. dat. sing. *dehter*, *fēt*, from **dohtri*, **fōti*: nom. sing. *dohtor*, *daughter*, *fōt*, *foot*; but OE. *mere* (masc.), older *meri*, OHG. *meri* (neut.) = Lat. *mare* from **mari*, *sea*. Voc. sing. OE. *hand*, OHG. *hant*, beside Goth. *handu*: nom. *handus*, *hand*; but OS. OHG. *fihu*, Goth. *faíhu* = Lat. *pecu*, *cattle*.

§ 84. Prim. Germanic short vowels in final syllables followed by -z or -n (§ 80) underwent in OE. the same treatment as the original final short vowels, as nom. sing. *dæg*, *day*, *giest*, *guest*, *stede*, *place*, *hand*, *hond*, *hand*, *sunu*, *son* = prim. Germanic **ðagaz*, **gastiz*, **staðiz*, **χanduz*, **sunuz*; acc. sing. OE. *dæg*, *giest*, *stede*, *hand*, *hond*, *sunu* = prim. Germanic **ðaga(n)*, **gasti(n)*, **staði(n)*, **χandu(n)*, **sunu(n)*; acc. sing. OE. *fōt*, Goth. *fōtu*, prim. Germanic **fōtu(n)*, cp. Gr. *πόδα*, *foot* (§ 17).

Gen. sing. of consonantal stems, Indg. **-es** = prim. Germanic **-iz** (§ 21), as *bēo* from **bōkiz*, of *a book*; nom. pl. of masc. and fem. consonantal stems, as *fēt* from **fōtiz*, cp. Gr. *πόδες*, *feet*; *hanan* from **ḡananiz*, *cocks*, cp. Gr. *ποιμένες*, *shepherds*.

NOTE.—The final **-i**, which remained in the oldest period of the language, regularly became **-e** in the seventh century. And final **-u** became **-o** at an early period, and then in late OE. **-a**, whence forms like nom. acc. sing. *sunu*, *suno*, *sunā*, *son*.

2. THE LONG VOWELS.

§ 85. The Indg. final long vowels, and those which became final in prim. Germanic through the loss of a final dental consonant (§ 80. 2), were shortened in the prehistoric period of all the languages, when they originally had the ‘broken’ (acute) accent, but remained unshortened in Gothic when they originally had the ‘slurred’ (circumflex) accent, see § 15, note 3. In this manner prim. Germanic **-ō** (= Indg. **-ā** and **-ō**), **-ā** (= Indg. **ā**), and **-ī** became **-a**, **-a**, **-i** in Goth., and **-u**, **-e**, **-i** in prim. OE., and then the **-u** and **-i** underwent the same treatment in OE. as original final **-u** and **-i** (§ 83); and Indg. **-ō** with the ‘slurred’ (circumflex) accent became **-ō** in Goth. and **-a** in OE. The regular operation of this law was often disturbed by analogical formations which will be dealt with in the accidence:—

1. Prim. Germanic **-ō** (= Indg. **-ā** and **-ō**), as Goth. *bōta*, OE. *bōt*, *remedy*, *advantage*, cp. Gr. *χόπῃ*, *land*; Goth. *giba*, OE. *giefu*, *gift*; neut. nom. acc. pl. Goth. *waúrda*, OE. *word*, *words*; Goth. *juka*, OE. *geocu* = O.Lat. *jugā*, *yokes*; Goth. *baíra*, OE. (Anglian) *beru* = Lat. *ferō*, *I bear*; Goth. *hilpa*, OE. (Anglian) *helpu* for **help* with the **-u** restored after the analogy of the verbs with a short stem-syllable.

The **-u** from older **-ō** also disappeared in trisyllabic forms after a long medial syllable, as *leornung* from **lirnungu*, *learning*; *ǣfnung*, *evening* (§ 218); masc. and neut. dat. sing. *blindum* = Goth. *blindamma*, *blind*. It also disappeared when the stem

and medial syllable were short, but remained when the stem-syllable was long and the medial syllable short, as *byden* from **budinu*, *tub*; pl. *reced* from **rakidu*, *halls*; neut. pl. *yfel* from **uþilu*, *evil*; but fem. nom. sing. *hāligu*, *holy*; *hēafodu*, *heads*.

2. Prim. Germanic -*ā* (= Indg. *ē*), as pret. sing. Goth. *nasida*, OE. *nerede*, prim. Germanic **naziðā*(t), *he saved*.

3. Prim. Germanic -*ī*, as Goth. *bandi*, OE. *bend*, *band*, cp. Skr. *dēvī*, *goddess*; imperative OE. *sēc* from **sōkī*, *seek thou*; *nere* from **nazī*, *save thou* (= Indg. -*eje*); Goth. *wili*, OE. *wili*, later *wile*, from older **wilī*, *he will* = O.Lat. *velit*, later *velit*.

Prim. Germanic -*i* (= Indg. -*ei*, § 17), the ending of the dat. (originally loc.) sing. of *i*-stems, as OE. *stede*, older *stedi* (OHG. *steti*), from **staði*, *to a place*; but *cwēne* for **cwēn* (§ 236).

4. Prim. Germanic -*ō* from Indg. -*ōd*, as Goth. *unwēniggō*, OE. *unwēnunga*, *unexpectedly*, cp. O.Lat. *meritōd*, *deservedly*, *justly*; OE. *edniwunga*, *anew*; *fārunga*, *quickly*.

§ 86. Indg. -*ās*, -*ōs* with the 'slurred' (circumflex) accent = prim. Germanic -*ōz*, became -*ōs* in Goth. and -*e* in OE., as gen. sing. of the *ō*-stems, Goth. *gibōs*, OE. *giefe*, from **gebōz*, *of a gift*, cp. Gr. *θεās*, *of a goddess*; nom. pl. Goth. *gibōs*, OE. (Anglian) *giefe*, *gifts*; nom. pl. of *a*-stems, Goth. *dagōs*, *days* (for OE. *dagas*, see § 180, note).

§ 87. The ending of the nom. pl. of *i*-stems, prim. Germanic -*iz* from -*ij(i)z* (= Indg. -*ejēs*, cp. Lat. *hostēs* from **hostejēs*, *enemies*), became -*eis* (= *īs*) in Goth. and -*i* (later -*e*) in OE., as masc. Goth. *stadeis*, OE. *stede*, *places*; fem. Goth. *ansteis*, OE. *ēste*, *favours*.

§ 88. In dealing with long vowels originally followed by a nasal (§ 80. 1) it is necessary to distinguish between long vowels which originally had the 'broken' (acute) accent, and those which originally had the 'slurred' (circumflex accent):—

1. Early prim. Germanic -*ōm* (-*ōn*) (= Indg. -*ām* and -*ōm*), later nasalized -*ō* (§ 80. 1), became -*a* in Goth. and -*e* in OE., as acc. sing. of *ō*-stems, Goth. *giba*, OE. *giefe*, from **gebōm*,

-ōn, *gift*, cp. Gr. *χώραν*, *land*; pret. sing. Goth. *nasida*, OE. *nerede*, from early prim. Germanic **naziðōm*, -ōn, *I saved*.

2. The ending of the gen. plural of all classes of nouns and adjectives and of such pronouns as had a gen. plural, early prim. Germanic -ðm, -ōn (= Indg. -ðm) became -ō in Goth. and -a in OE., as Goth. *gibō*, OE. *giefa* from an original form **ghebhðm*, *of gifts*, cp. Gr. *ποδῶν*, *of feet*; adj. Goth. fem. *blindáizō*, OE. *blindra*, *of blind*; gen. pl. Goth. fem. *þizō* for **þáizō*, OE. *þāra*, *of the, that*.

3. In Indg. the nom. sing. of n-stems ended partly in -ōn, -ēn and partly in -ð, -ǣ. The various Indg. languages generalized one or other of the two formations, e.g. Gr. generalized the former, and Skr. and Lat. the latter, as nom. sing. *ἡγεμὼν*, *leader*; *ποιμήν*, *shepherd*, beside Skr. *rājā*, *king*; Lat. *sermō*, *discourse*. The two types of nominative endings existed side by side in prim. Germanic, but in the prehistoric period of the separate languages -ōn (= Goth. -a, OE. -e) became restricted to the feminine and neuter in OE., but to the masculine in Goth., whereas -ð (= Goth. -ō, OE. -a) became restricted to the masculine in OE. and to the feminine and neuter in Goth., as fem. OE. *tunge*, beside Goth. *tuggō*, *tongue*; neut. OE. *ēage*, beside Goth. *áugō*, *eye*; masc. OE. *hana*, beside Goth. *hana*, *cock*.

3. THE DIPHTHONGS.

§ 89. The Indg. long diphthongs -āi (-ǣi), -ōi (-ǣi); -ōu were shortened to -ai; *au* in prim. Germanic, and then underwent the same further development as prim. Germanic -ai; -au from Indg. -ai, -oi; -au, -ou. The -ai, -au remained in Goth., but became -ǣ, -ō in prim. West Germanic. Then -ǣ, -ō became -e (older -æ), -a in OE.

1. Prim. Germanic -ai, as dat. sing. Goth. *gibái*, OE. *giefe*, Indg. **ghebhāi*, *to a gift*, cp. Gr. *θεῇ*, *to a goddess*; dat. sing. *dæge* from **ðagai*, older -oi or -ǣi, cp. Gr. loc. *οἴκοι*, *at home*, dat. *θεῷ* (Indg. -ǣi), *to a god*; nom. pl. masc. Goth. *blindái*,

OE. *blinde*, *blind*, cp. Gr. *σοφοί*, *wise*; Goth. *baíraí*, OE. *bere*, *he may bear*, Indg. optative **bhéroīt*.

2. Prim. Germanic *-au*, as Goth. *ahtáu*, OE. *eahta*, Indg. **oktōu*, *eight*; Goth. *aíppáu*, OE. *eppa*, *or*.

Prim. Germanic *-au* (= Indg. *-ēu*), the ending of the dat. (originally loc.) sing. of *u*-stems, as Goth. *sunáu*, OE. *sunā*, *to a son*.

§ 90. *-ēis*, *-ōis*, the Indg. ending of the gen. sing. of *i*-stems, and *-ēūs*, *-ōūs*, the Indg. ending of the gen. sing. of *u*-stems, became *-áis*, *-áus* in Goth. and *-e*, *-a* in OE., as Goth. *anstáis*, OE. *ēste*, *of a favour*; Goth. *sunáus*, OE. *sunā*, *of a son*.

SUMMARY.

§ 91. Now that we have traced the history of the Indg. vowels of final syllables in prim. Germanic, Gothic, and Old English, the result may be briefly summarized in the table on p. 51. The sign —, followed by a blank, denotes that the vowel regularly disappeared. From the table it will be seen that all the Indg. endings *-i*, *-is*, *-im*, *es*, *-ī*, *-īt*, *-ei* became —, *-i(e)* in OE.; that *-u*, *-us*, *-um*, *-m*, *-ā*, *-ō* became —, *-u*; that *-ōd*, *-ōm*, *-ēu*, *-ōu*, *-oūs* became *-a*; and that *-ēt*, *-ām*, *-ōm*, *-ōn*, *-ās*, *-ōs*, *-ai*, *-oi*, *-āi*, *-ōi*, *-oīs* became *-e*.

THE VOWELS IN OE. FINAL SYLLABLES.

§ 92. Up to this point we have only dealt with the vowels which were originally final or which became final through the loss of final consonants in prim. Germanic. We shall now deal with the vowels which originally stood in medial syllables, but which came to stand in final syllables through the operation of the sound-laws formulated in the previous paragraphs.

a. The Short Vowels.

§ 93. 1. Indg. *o* remained longer in prim. Germanic in unaccented than in accented syllables (§ 17). During the prim. Germanic period it became *a* except before *m*. Before *m*

Indg.	P.G.	Goth.	OE.	Goth.	OE.
-a, -e, -o	—	—	—	wáit, baír, hvis	wāt, ber, hwæð
-i	—, -i	—	—, -i(e)	baíríp, gast, stap	bir(e)þ, giest, stede
-u	-u	-u	—, -u	handu, sunu	hand, sunu
-os	-az	-s	—	dags, gen. gumins	dæg, gen. guman
-is	-iz	-s	—, -i(e)	gasts, staps	giest, stede
-us	-uz	-us	—, -u	handus, sunus	hand, sunu
-om	-a(n)	—	—	dag	dæg
-im	-i(n)	—	—, -i(e)	anst, stap	ēst, stede
-m, -um	—, u(n)	—, -u	—, -u	hanan, handu, sunu	hanan, hand, sunu
-es	-iz	-s	—, -i(e)	pl. hanans, baúrgs	hanan, byrg, hnyte
-ā, -ō	-ō	-a	—, -u	waúrda, giba	word, giefu
-ēt	-æ	-a	-e	nasida	nerede
-ī, īt	-ī	-i	—, -i(e)	bandi, wili	bend, wile
-ām, -ōm	-ō(n)	-a	-e	giba, nasida	giefe, nerede
-ōn	-ō(n)	-a	-e	guma	tunge, ēage
-ō, -ōd	-ō	-ō	-a	tuggō, unwēniggō	guma, unwēnunga
-ōm	-ō(n)	-ō	-a	gibō	giefa
-ās, -ōs	-ōz	-ōs	-e	gibōs, dagōs	giefe
-oi	-ai	-ai	-e	blindái, baírái	blinde, bere, dæge
-ei	-ī		—, -i(e)		stede
-ēu	-au	-áu	-a	sunáu	sunu
-ōu	-au	-áu	-a	ahtáu	eahta
-āi, ōi	-ai	-ái	-e	gibái	giefe, dæge
-oīs	-aiZ	-áis	-e	anstáis	ēste
-oūs	-auz	-áus	-a	sunáus	sunu

it became **a** in Goth., but **u** in OE., as masc. and neut. dat. sing. *blindum* = Goth. *blindamma*, *blind*; dat. pl. *dagum* = Goth. *dagam*, from **ḍagomiz*, *to days*. Prim. Germanic **a** remained before **n**, but became **e** (older **æ**) in other cases, and then later the **e** became **i** before **g**, as inf. *beran*, *to bear*, from **beranan*, older *-onom*; but gen. sing. *dæg*es older *dægæs*, from prim. Germanic **ḍagas(a)*, *of a day*; *huneg* (OHG. *honag*), later *hunig*, *honey*; *maneg* (Goth. *manags*), later *manig*, *many*.

2. Indg. **e** remained when not originally followed by a palatal vowel in the next syllable, as pp. *bunden*, from *-enaz*, *bound*; *hwæper* = Gr. *πότερος*, *which of two*.

3. Prim. Germanic **i** remained before palatal consonants, as *englisc*, *English*; *ūsic*, *us*; but in other cases it became **e** in the seventh century, as pp. *ge-nered* = Goth. *nasips*, from **naziḍaz*, *saved*; Anglian *birest*, *thou bearest*, *bireþ*, *he bears* = Goth. *bairis*, *bairiþ*, WS. Ken. *birst*, *birþ* with syncope of the **e**.

4. Prim. Germanic **u** remained before **m**, but became **o** at an early period in other cases, as dat. pl. *sunum* = Goth. *sunum*, *to sons*; but *bæron* older *bærun* = Goth. *bërun*, *they bore*.

b. The Long Vowels.

§ 94. All long vowels underwent shortening in prehistoric OE.:—

1. *æ* became **e**, as pret. *neredes(t)* (older *-dæs*) from **naziḍæs* = Goth. *nasidēs*, *thou didst save*.

2. *ī* became **i**, later **e** (except before palatal consonants), as *gylden* (OHG. *guldin*), *golden*; *bæren* (OHG. *bārin*), *they might bear*; *mihtig* (OHG. *mahtig*), *mighty*; *gōdlic*, *goodly*, beside the stressed form *gelic*, *like*.

3. *ō* became **u**, which remained before **m**, but became later **o**, **a** in other cases, as *heardost*, from *-ōst-*, *hardest*; *sealfap* = Goth. *salbōp*, *he anoints*; pp. *sealfud*, *-od*, *-ad* = Goth. *salbōps*, *anointed*; *mōnaþ* = Goth. *mēnōps*, *month*; but always **u** before

m, as dat. pl. *giefum*, *to gifts*, *tungum*, *to tongues* = Goth. *gibōm*, *tuggōm*. -ōj- became -i- through the intermediate stages -ēj-, -ej-, -ij-, as *sealfian* from **salbōjan*, *to anoint*; -op from older -anp, -onp (§ 50) = Indg. -onti, as *berap* = Gr. Dor. *φέρωντι*, *they bear*.

4. ū became u (later o, a), as *fracuþ*, -op, from **frakunþaz*, *wicked* = Goth. *frakunþs*, *despised*; *duguþ* from **ðugunþ* = OHG. *tugunt*, *valour, strength*.

c. *The Diphthongs.*

§ 95. The only diphthong concerned is prim. Germanic ai, which remained in Goth., but became e in OE., as *binden*, Goth. *bindáina*, *they may bind*.

§ 96. When a nasal or a liquid, preceded by a mute consonant, came to stand finally after the loss of a short vowel (§ 84), it became vocalic, and remained as such in Goth., but in prehistoric OE. a new vowel was generated before it. The vowel thus generated was generally e when the preceding vowel was palatal, but o (u), later also e, when the preceding vowel was guttural, as nom. *efen* from **eþnaz* = Goth. *ibns*, *even*; nom. acc. *æcer* from **akr*, older **akraz*, **akran* = Goth. *akrs*, *akr*, *field*; nom. acc. *fugul*, -ol, from **fugl*, older **foglaz*, **foglan* (§ 66) = Goth. *fugla*, *fugl*, *bird, fowl*; nom. acc. *māþum* from **maipm*, older **maipmaz*, **maipman* = Goth. *máipms*, *máipm*, *gift*; *hlūtor* = Goth. *hlūtrs*, *pure, clean*; neut. nom. acc. pl. prim. Germanic **tunglō*, *stars*, which regularly became **tungl* in prim. OE. through the intermediate stage **tunglu* (§ 85. 1), and then later *tungol*; and similarly neut. plurals like *morþor*, *murders*; *wæpen*, *weapons*. In OE. the vowel was often levelled out into the inflected forms, and conversely the consonantal l, m, n, r, especially l, m, n, of the inflected forms, were often levelled out into the uninflected form, and then became vocalic again, as gen. *æceres* beside the regular form *æcres*; *efn*, *māþm* beside the regular forms *efen*, *māþum*.

THE VOWELS IN OE. MEDIAL SYLLABLES.

§ 97. Original short medial vowels regularly remained in trisyllabic forms:—

1. After short open stem-syllables, as *æpele*, *noble*; gen. sing. *heofones*, *wæteres*, beside nom. *heofon*, *heaven*, *wæter*, *water*; *neredest* from **naziðæs*, *thou didst save*; pp. gen. sing. *generedes*, nom. pl. *ge-nerede* beside nom. sing. *ge-nered* from **-naziðaz*.

2. In closed syllables irrespectively as to whether the stem-syllable was long or short, as gen. sing. *cyninges*, *fætelses*, beside nom. *cyning*, *king*, *fætels*, *tub*; pres. participle *nimende*, *taking*; *ieldest(a)*, *oldest*.

3. After consonant combinations, when preceded by a closed stem-syllable, or a stem-syllable containing a long vowel or long diphthong, as pret. *hyngrede*, *timbrede*, *frēfrede*, *dieglede*, pp. gen. sing. *gehyngrede*s, *getimbrede*s, *gefrēfrede*s, *gedieglede*s, beside inf. *hyngran*, *to hunger*, *timbran*, *to build*, *frēfran*, *to comfort*, *dieglan*, *to conceal*.

§ 98. Medial short vowels regularly disappeared in open syllables when the stem-syllable was long, as gen. sing. *engles*, *hālgēs*, *hēafdes*, beside nom. *engel*, *angel*, *hālig*, *holy*, *hēafod*, *head*; gen. dat. sing. *mōnpe*, *sāwle*, beside nom. *mōnaþ*, *month*, *sāwol*, *soul*; *ieldra* = Goth. *alpiza*, *older*; *dældest* = Goth. *dáilidēs*, *thou didst divide*; *hīerdest* = Goth. *háusidēs*, *thou didst hear*; pp. gen. sing. *gedældes*, *gehīerdes*, nom. pl. *gedæilde*, *gehīerde*, beside nom. sing. *gedæled*, *gehīered*.

§ 99. Original long vowels in medial syllables underwent the same shortening as those which came to stand in final syllables after the operation of the sound-laws formulated in §§ 80-90, as *sealfude*, later *-ode*, *-ade* = Goth. *salbōda*, *I anointed*; superlative weak decl. *earmosta* = Goth. *armōsta*, *poorest*. See § 101, note 3.

§ 100. Short medial guttural vowels, followed by a guttural vowel in the next syllable, often became *e* by dissimilation,

as *hafela*, *head*, beside *hafola*; *gaderian* from **gaðurōjan*, *to gather*; pl. nom. *heofenas*, gen. *heofena*, dat. *heofenum*, beside sing. gen. *heofones*, dat. *heofone*, nom. *heofon*, *heaven*; pret. pl. *sealfedon* (OHG. *salbōtun*), *they anointed*, beside sing. *sealfode* (OHG. *salbōta*), *he anointed*.

§ 101. Syncope of one or more vowels generally took place in forms which were originally polysyllabic. In polysyllabic just as in trisyllabic forms, syncope only took place in open syllables. The question as to which of the two medial vowels was syncopated depended upon the vowel in the final syllable. When the vowel in the final syllable regularly disappeared, the vowel in the first medial syllable was syncopated, as pp. masc. and neut. dat. sing. *bundnum* = Goth. *bundanamma*, *bound*; masc. and neut. dat. sing. *hālgum*, *holy*. When the vowel in the final syllable regularly remained, the vowel in the second medial syllable was syncopated, as pp. masc. acc. sing. *generedne* = Goth. *nasidana*, from **-naziðanō(n)*; masc. acc. sing. *hāligne*, *holy*, *ōperne*, *other*; but fem. dat. sing. *gaderunge*, *to an assembly*, with retention of *u* through being in a closed syllable.

NOTE.—1. There are many exceptions to the above sound-laws, which are due to analogical formations. Thus forms like masc. and neut. gen. sing. *micles*, dat. *miclum*, *great*; *yfes*, *yflum*, beside *yfeles*, *yfelum*, *evil*; gen. pl. *glædra*, *glad*, were made on analogy with forms having a long stem-syllable. And forms like gen. sing. *dēofoles* (nom. *dēofol*, *devil*), *hāliges*, *holy*, beside older *dēofles*, *hālgēs*, were made on analogy with forms having a short stem-syllable.

2. In late OE. syncope often took place after short stems, and sometimes in closed syllables, as *betra*, *better*, *fægnian*, *to rejoice*, *gaderian*, *to gather*, beside older *betera*, *fægenian*, *gaderian*; *betsta* beside older *betesta*, *best*.

3. Original long medial vowels, which were shortened at an early period, were syncopated in trisyllabic forms, but remained when the shortening took place at a later period, as dat. sing. *mōnpe* beside nom. *mōnap* (Goth. *mēnōps*), *month*; but *lōcōdest* from **lōkōðēs*, *thou didst look*.

SVARABHAKTI VOWELS.

§ 102. In OE., especially in the later period, a svarabhakti vowel was often developed between *r* or *l*+*e*, *g*, or *h*; and between *r*, *l*, *d*, or *t*+*w*. In the former case the quality of the vowel thus developed regulated itself after the quality of the stem-vowel. In the latter case it fluctuated between *u* (*o*) and *e*, rarely *a*. Examples are:—nom. sing. *burug*, *buruh* beside *burg*, *burh*, *city*; dat. sing. and nom. pl. *byrig* beside *byrg*; *fyligan* beside *fylgan*, *to follow*; *styric* beside *styrc*, *calf*; *woruhte*, *worohte* beside *worhte*, *he worked*. Gen. *gearuwes*, *-owes*, *-ewes* beside *gearwes*: nom. *gearu*, *ready*; *geoluwes*, *-owes* beside *geolwes*: nom. *geolu*, *yellow*; gen. dat. *beaduwe*, *-owe*, beside *beadwe*: nom. *beadu*, *battle*; *frætuwe*, *-ewe* beside *frætwe*, *trappings*.

CHAPTER V

ABLAUT (VOWEL GRADATION)

§ 103. By ablaut is meant the gradation of vowels both in stem and suffix, which was chiefly caused by the primitive Indo-Germanic system of accentuation. See § 8.

The vowels vary within certain series of related vowels, called ablaut-series. In OE., to which this chapter will be chiefly confined, there are six such series, which appear most clearly in the stem-forms of strong verbs. Four stem-forms are to be distinguished in an OE. strong verb which has vowel gradation as the characteristic mark of its different stems:—(1) The present stem, to which belong all the forms of the present, (2) the stem of the first or third person singular of the preterite indicative, (3) the stem of the preterite plural, to which belong the second pers. pret. singular and the whole of the pret. subjunctive, (4) the stem of the past participle.

By arranging the vowels according to these four stems we arrive at the following system :—

	i.	ii.	iii.	iv.
I.	ī	ā	i	i
II.	ēo	ēa	u	o
III.	i, e	a (æ)	u	u, o
IV.	e	æ	ā	o
V.	e	æ	ā	e
VI.	a	ō	ō	æ (a)

Three grades of ablaut are to be distinguished—strong, weak, and lengthened. The strong grade occurs in i and ii of I to VI; the weak grade in iii of I to III, and in iv of I to VI; and the lengthened grade in iii of IV to VI. i and ii are sometimes further distinguished as strong grade 1 (sg. 1) and strong grade 2 (sg. 2); and similarly iv of V and VI and iv of I to IV are distinguished as weak grade 1 (wg. 1) and weak grade 2 (wg. 2). The preterite-present verbs have weak grade in iii of IV, whereas the ordinary strong verbs have lengthened grade.

NOTE.—1. The six series given above represent the simple vowels and diphthongs when uninfluenced by neighbouring sounds. For the changes caused by umlaut and the influence of consonants, see the phonology, especially §§ 46–64, and the various classes of strong verbs, §§ 332–54.

2. On the difference in Series III between i and e, see § 21; between a and æ, §§ 29–30; and between u and o, § 23.

3. It should be noted that the u, o in Series II are not of the same origin as the u, o in Series III and the o in Series IV. In Series II the u, o arose from Indg. u (cp. §§ 18, 23), whereas the u, o in Series III and the o in Series IV arose from Indg. vocalic i, m, n, r (cp. §§ 17, 23).

4. Strong verbs belonging to Series II have iē from iō, older iu (§ 24) in the second and third pers. singular; and strong verbs belonging to Series III–V with e in the infinitive have i in the second and third pers. singular of the pres. indicative (§ 21).

5. Although the series of vowels is seen most clearly in the stem-forms of strong verbs, the learner must not assume that ablaut occurs in strong verbs only. Every *syllable* of every word of whatever part of speech contains some form of ablaut. See *OE. Grammar*, § 225.

§ 104. In this paragraph will be given the prim. Germanic and Gothic equivalents of the above six ablaut-series, with one or two illustrations from OE. For further examples see the various classes of strong verbs, §§ 332-54.

I.

Prim. Germ.	ī	ai	i	i
Gothic	ei	ái	i	i
OE.	bítan, <i>to bite</i>	bāt	biton	biten
	līpan, <i>to go</i>	lāp	lidon	liden

NOTE.—Cp. the parallel Greek series λέίπω, *I leave*: pf. λέ-λοιπα: aorist ἐ-λιπον.

II.

Prim. Germ.	eu	au	u	o
Gothic	iu	áu	u	u
OE.	bēodan, <i>to offer</i>	bēad	budon	boden
	cēosan, <i>to choose</i>	cēas	curon	coren

NOTE.—Cp. the parallel Greek series ἐλεύ(θ)σομαι (fut.), *I shall come*: pf. εἰλήλουθα: aor. ἤλυθον.

III.

Prim. Germ.	e, i,	a	u	u, o
Gothic	i,	a	u	u
OE.	helpan, <i>to help</i>	healp	hulpon	holpen
	weorpan, <i>to become</i>	wearp	wurdon	worden
	bindan, <i>to bind</i>	band	bundon	bunden

NOTE.—I. To this series belong all strong verbs having a medial nasal or liquid + consonant, and a few others in which the vowel is followed by two consonants other than a nasal or liquid + consonant.

2. On the forms *healp*, *wearp*, see § 51, and on *weorpan* see § 52.

3. Cp. the parallel Greek series δέркоμαι, *I look*: pf. δέ-δorka: aor. ἐ-δρακον; πένθος, *grief, sorrow*: pf. πέ-πονθα, *I have suffered*: aor. ἐ-παθον.

IV.

Prim. Germ.	e	a	ǣ	o
Gothic	i	a	ē	u
OE.	beran, <i>to bear</i>	bær	bǣron	boren
	stelan, <i>to steal</i>	stæl	stǣlon	stolen

NOTE.—I. To this series belong all strong verbs whose stems end in a single liquid or nasal.

2. Cp. the parallel Greek series μένω, *I stay*: μονή, *a staying*: μί-μνω, *I stay*; δέρω, *I skin*: δορά, *skin, hide*: pf. part. mid. δε-δαρ-μένος.

V.

Prim. Germ.	e	a	ǣ	e
Gothic	i	a	ē	i
OE.	metan, <i>to measure</i>	mæt	mǣton	meten
	cwēpan, <i>to say</i>	cwæp	cwǣdon	cweden

NOTE.—I. To this series belong all strong verbs whose stems end in a single consonant other than a liquid or a nasal.

2. Cp. the parallel Greek series τρέπω, *I turn*: pf. τέ-τροφα: aor. ἔ-τραπον.

VI.

Prim. Germ.	a	ō	ō	a
Gothic	a	ō	ō	a
OE.	faran, <i>to go</i>	fōr	fōron	færen, faren

§ 105. Class VII of strong verbs embracing the old reduplicated verbs (§§ 353–63) has been omitted from the ablaut-series, because the exact relation in which the vowel of the present stands to that of the preterite has not yet been satisfactorily explained. The old phases of ablaut have been preserved in the present and preterite of a few Gothic verbs, as lētan, *to leave, let*, laīlōt, laīlōtum, lētans; saian, *to sow*, saī-sō, saī-sō-um, saians.

CHAPTER VI

THE PRIMITIVE GERMANIC DEVELOPMENT OF
THE INDO-GERMANIC CONSONANTS

§ 106. In dealing with the consonants we shall first take the changes which took place in prim. Germanic (Ch. VI) and then those which took place in West Germanic (Ch. VII), and lastly those which took place in OE. (Ch. VIII).

In that part of the subject dealing with the changes which the Indg. explosives underwent in prim. Germanic, it will often be necessary to make use of examples from Latin and Greek. It is therefore important to be familiar with the Latin and Greek equivalents of the Indg. explosives. These equivalents will be found in the tables given in § 230 of the *OE. Grammar* or in § 127 of the *Gothic Grammar*.

§ 107. The Indo-Germanic parent language had the following system of consonants :—

	Labial.	Dental.	Palatal.	Velar.
Explosives {	tenues	p	t	k
	mediae	b	d	g
	tenues aspiratae	ph	th	kh
	mediae aspiratae	bh	dh	gh
Spirants {	voiceless	s		
	voiced	z		
Nasals	m	n	ñ	ŋ
Liquids		l, r		
Semivowels	w(u)		j(i)	

NOTE.—1. Explosives are consonants which are formed with complete closure of the mouth passage, and may be pronounced with or without voice, i. e. with or without the vocal chords being set in action; in the former case they are said to be voiced (e. g. the mediae), and in the latter voiceless (e. g. the tenues). The aspiratae are pronounced like the simple tenues and mediae followed by an h, e. g. like the th in English **pothook**, ph in **haphazard**, or dh in **madhouse**. The tenues and the tenues aspiratae both became voiceless spirants in prim. Germanic (§§ 109, 111).

The palatal explosives are formed by the front or middle of the tongue and the roof of the mouth (hard palate), like **g**, **k**(**e**) in English **get**, **good**, **kid**, **could**; whereas the velars are formed by the root of the tongue and the soft palate (velum). The latter do not occur in English. In the parent Indg. language there were two kinds of velars, viz. pure velars and velars with lip-rounding. The latter are here indicated by **w** (see § 114). The pure velars and the palatals fell together in prim. Germanic and likewise also in Latin and Greek (§ 114). The palatal and velar nasals only occurred before their corresponding explosives, as **ńk**, **ńg**; **ŋq**, **ŋg**, &c.

2. Spirants are consonants formed by the mouth passage being narrowed at one spot in such a manner that the outgoing breath gives rise to a frictional sound at the narrowed part.

z only occurred before voiced explosives, e. g. ***nizdos** = Lat. **nīdus**, English **nest**.

3. The semivowels, nasals, and liquids had the functions both of vowels and consonants. When a vowel disappeared through loss of accent in the combinations vowel + semivowel, liquid, or nasal, the semivowel, liquid, or nasal became vocalic or remained consonantal according as it was followed by a consonant or a vowel in the next syllable. Cp. also § 15, note 1.

4. In the writing down of prim. Germanic forms the signs **p** (= **th** in Engl. **thin**), **đ** (= **th** in Engl. **then**), **þ** (= a bilabial spirant like the **v** in Engl. **vine**), **ʒ** (= **g** often heard in German **sagen**), **χ** (= German **ch** and the **ch** in Scotch **loch**) are used.

THE FIRST SOUND-SHIFTING.

§ 108. The first sound-shifting, popularly called Grimm's Law, is rightly regarded as one of the most characteristic features of the Germanic languages. With the exception of Armenian, in which the Indg. mediae became tenues, there is no similar sound-shifting in any of the other branches of the parent Indg. language. The first sound-shifting is so called in order to distinguish it from the special sound-shifting which only took place in Old High German. It relates to the changes which the Indg. explosives underwent in the period of the Germanic primitive community, i. e. before the Germanic parent language became differentiated into the separate Germanic languages. The approximate date at which these changes took place cannot be ascertained, but they must have taken place some hundreds

of years before the beginning of the Christian era, as is proved by the forms of Germanic words—chiefly proper names—found in ancient classical writers. Nor is it possible to state the precise chronological order in which the changes took place. The most commonly accepted theory is that the changes took place in the following order:—1. The *tenues* became *tenues aspiratae* and thus fell together with the original *tenues aspiratae*. 2. The new and the original *tenues aspiratae* became voiceless spirants. 3. The *mediae aspiratae* became voiced spirants. 4. And lastly the *mediae* became *tenues*. But only so much is certain: that at the time the *mediae* became *tenues*, the *tenues* must have been on the way to becoming voiceless spirants, otherwise the two sets of sounds would have fallen together.

§ 109. The Indg. *tenues* *p*, *t*, *k*, *q*, *q^w* became in prim. Germanic the voiceless spirants *f*, *þ*, *χ*, *χ*, *χ^w*.

p > *f*. Lat. *pēs*, Gr. *πούς*, OE. OS. *fōt*, Goth. *fōtus*, O.Icel. *fōtr*, *foot*; Lat. *piscis*, OE. *fisc*, Goth. *fisks*, O.Icel. *fiskr*, OS. OHG. *fisk*, *fish*; Lat. *nepōs*, OE. *nefa*, O.Icel. *nefe*, OHG. *nefo*, *nephew*.

t > *þ*. Lat. *trēs*, Gr. *τρεις*, OE. *þrī*, Goth. *þrija* (neut.), O.Icel. *þrīr*, OS. *thria*, *three*; Lat. *frāter*, OE. *brōþor*, Goth. *brōþar*, O.Icel. *brōðer*, OS. *brōðar*, *brother*; Lat. *vertō*, *I turn*, OE. *weorþan*, Goth. *waírþan*, O.Icel. *verða*, OS. *werðan*, *to become*.

k > *χ*. Lat. *canis*, Gr. *κύων*, OE. OS. *hund*, Goth. *hunds*, O.Icel. *hundr*, *dog*, *hound*; Lat. *cor* (gen. *cordis*), Gr. *καρδιά*, OE. *heorte*, Goth. *haiртō*, O.Icel. *hjarta*, OS. *herta*, *heart*; Lat. *pecu*, OE. *feoh*, Goth. *faíhu*, O.Icel. *fē*, OS. OHG. *fihu*, *cattle*; Lat. *dūcō*, *I lead*, OE. *tēon* from **tēohan* (§ 68), Goth. *tiuhan*, OS. *tiohan*, *to draw*, *lead*.

q > *χ*. Lat. *canō*, *I sing*, OE. Goth. *hana*, O.Icel. *hane*, OS. OHG. *hano*, *cock*, lit. *singer*; Lat. *vincō* (pf. *vīcī*), *I conquer*, Goth. *weihan*, OHG. *wīhan*, *to fight*.

q^w > *χ^w*. Lat. *quis*, Gr. *τίς*, OE. *hwā*, Goth. *hwas*, OS. *hwē*, OHG. *hwer*, *who?*; Lat. *linquō*, Gr. *λείπω*, *I leave*, OE.

līon, lēon from *līohan older *līxwan, Goth. leihran, *to lend*. See § 114.

NOTE.—1. The Indg. *tenues* remained unshifted in the combination *s + tenuis*, as Lat. *spuere*, OE. OS. OHG. *spiwan*, Goth. *speiwan*, *to vomit, spit*. Gr. *στέιχω*, *I go*, OE. OS. OHG. *stigan*, Goth. *steigan*, O.Icel. *stiga*, *to ascend*; Lat. *hostis*, *stranger, enemy*, OE. *giest*, Goth. *gasts*, O.Icel. *gestr*, OS. OHG. *gast*, *guest*. Gr. *σκιᾶ*, *shadow*, OE. OS. OHG. *scīnan*, Goth. *skeinan*, O.Icel. *skina*, *to shine*; Lat. *piscis*, OE. *fisc*, Goth. *fisks*, O.Icel. *fiskr*, OS. OHG. *fisk*, *fish*. Gr. *θυο-σκόος*, *sacrificing priest*, OE. *scēawian*, OS. *scauwōn*, OHG. *scouwōn*, *to look, view*.

2. *t* also remained unshifted in the Indg. combinations *pt*, *kt*, *qt*, as Lat. *neptis*, OE. OHG. *nift*, *niece, grand daughter*. Lat. *octō*, Gr. *ὀκτώ*, OE. *eahta*, Goth. *ahtáu*, OS. OHG. *ahto*, *eight*. Gen. sing. Lat. *noctis*, Gr. *νυκτός*, nom. OE. *neahht*, *niht*, Goth. *nahts*, OS. OHG. *naht*, *night*.

§ 110. The Indg. *mediae* *b*, *d*, *g*, *g* *g*^w became the *tenues* *p*, *t*, *k*, *k*, *kw*.

b > *p*. Gr. *βαῖτη*, *a shepherd's goatskin coat*, OE. *pād*, Goth. *páida*, OS. *pēda*, *coat, cloak*; Lithuanian *dubūs*, OE. *dēop*, Goth. *diups*, O.Icel. *djūpr*, OS. *diop*, *deep*; O. Bulgarian *slabŭ*, *slack, weak*, OE. *slāpan*, Goth. *slēpan*, OS. *slāpan*, *to sleep*, originally *to be slack*. *b* was a rare sound in Indo-Germanic.

d > *t*. Lat. *decem*, Gr. *δέκα*, OE. *tien*, Goth. *taíhun*, O.Icel. *tīo*, OS. *tehan*, *ten*; Lat. *vidēre*, *to see*, OE. Goth. OS. *witan*, O.Icel. *vita*, *to know*; gen. Lat. *pedis*, Gr. *ποδός*, nom. OE. OS. *fōt*, Goth. *fōtus*, O.Icel. *fōtr*, *foot*.

g > *k*. Lat. *genu*, Gr. *γόνυ*, OE. *cnēo*, Goth. *kniu*, O.Icel. *knē*, OS. OHG. *knio*, *knee*; Lat. *ager*, Gr. *ἀγρός*, OE. *æcer*, Goth. *akrs*, O.Icel. *akr*, *field, acre*; Lat. *ego*, Gr. *ἐγώ*, OE. *ic*, Goth. OS. *ik*, O.Icel. *ek*, *I*.

g > *k*. Lat. *gelu*, *frost*, OE. *ceald*, Goth. *kalds*, O.Icel. *kaldr*, OS. *kald*, OHG. *kalt*, *cold*; Lat. *jugum*, Gr. *ζυγόν*, OE. *geoc*, Goth. *juk*, *yoke*.

g^w > *kw*. Gr. Boeotian *βανᾶ*, OE. *cwene*, Goth. *qinō*, OS. OHG. *quena*, *woman, wife*; Lat. *vīvos* from **gwiwos*, OE. *cwieu*, Goth. *qius*, O.Icel. *kvikr*, OS. *quik*, OHG. *quec*,

quick, alive; Lat. *veniō* from **gwemjō*, *I come*, OE. OS. *cuman*, Goth. *qiman*, OHG. *queman*, *to come*. See § 114.

§ 111. The Indg. *tenuēs aspiratae* became voiceless spirants in prim. Germanic, and thus fell together with and underwent all further changes in common with the voiceless spirants which arose from the Indg. *tenuēs* (§ 110), the latter having passed through the intermediate stage of *tenuēs aspiratae* before they became spirants (§ 108). The *tenuēs aspiratae* were, however, of so rare occurrence in the Indg. language that two or three examples must suffice for the purposes of this book:—

ph > f. Gr. *σφάλλω*, *I make to fall*, OE. *feallan*, O.Icel. *falla*, OS. OHG. *fallan*, *to fall*; Skr. *phénas*, OE. *fām*, OHG. *feim*, *froth*, *foam*.

th > þ. Gr. *ἀσκηθής*, *unhurt*, OE. *sceppan*, Goth. *skapjan*, *to injure*; OE. (Anglian) *earþ*, *arþ*, *thou art*, cp. Skr. *vēttha*, Gr. *οἶσθα*, *thou knowest*.

q^{wh} > xw. Gr. *φάλλη*, OE. *hwæl*, O.Icel. *hvalr*, OHG. *hwal*, *whale*.

§ 112. The Indg. *mediae aspiratae* bh, dh, gh, gh, g^{wh} became first of all the voiced spirants *ḃ*, *ḍ*, *ḡ*, *ḡ*, *ḡw*. Then during the prim. Germanic period *ḃ*, *ḍ* initially, and *ḃ*, *ḍ*, *ḡ*, *ḡw* medially after their corresponding nasals, became the voiced explosives *b*, *d*, *g*, *gw*:—

b. OE. OS. OHG. *beran*, Goth. *baíran*, O.Icel. *bera*, *to bear*, Skr. *bhárāmi*, Lat. *ferō*, Gr. *φέρω*, *I bear*; OE. *brōþor*, Goth. *brōþar*, O.Icel. *brōðer*, OS. *brōðar*, OHG. *bruoder*, Skr. *bhrátar-*, Lat. *frāter*, *brother*.

OE. *camb*, OHG. *kamb*, *comb*, Skr. *jámbhas*, Gr. *γόμφος*, *bolt*, *nail*; OE. *ymbe*, OS. OHG. *umbi*, Gr. *ἀμφί*, *around*.

d. OE. *duru*, Goth. *daúr*, OS. *duri*, O.Icel. pl. *dyrr*, Gr. *θύρᾱ*, *door*; OE. *dohtor*, Goth. *daúhtar*, O.Icel. *dōtter*, OS. *dohter*, Gr. *θυγάτηρ*, *daughter*.

OE. Goth. OS. *bindan*, O.Icel. *binda*, *to bind*, Skr. *bándha-* *nam*, *a binding*, cp. Lat. *of-fendimentum*, *chin-cloth*, root **bhendh-*, *bind*.

g. OE. *enge*, OS. OHG. *engi*, *narrow*, cp. Lat. *angō*, Gr. ἄγχω, *I press tight*; OE. OS. OHG. *lang*, Goth. *laggs*, O.Icel. *langr*, Lat. *longus*, *long*.

gw. Goth. *siggwip*, *he sings*, cp. Gr. δμφή, *divine voice*, Indg. **song^whá*.

§ 113. **þ**, **ð**, **z**, **zw** remained in other positions, and their further development belongs to the history of the separate languages. In OE. **þ** (written **f**) remained between voiced sounds, but became **f** finally (§ 140). **ð** became **d**. **z** (generally written **g**) remained in the oldest period of the language (§ 168). For **zw** see § 114. In Goth. **þ**, **ð** (written **b**, **d**) remained medially after vowels, but became explosives (**b**, **d**) after voiced consonants. They became **f**, **p** finally after vowels and before final **-s**. Geminated **þþ**, **ðð**, **zz**, of whatever origin, became **bb**, **dd**, **gg** in the prehistoric period of all the languages.

Examples are:—*nifol*, *dark*, cp. Gr. νεφέλη, *mist, cloud*; *lēof*, Goth. *liufs*, Indg. **leubhos*, *dear*, cp. Skr. *lūbhyāmi*, *I feel a strong desire*.

ūder, Gr. οἶθαρ, *udder*; *rēad*, Goth. *ráuþs*, Indg. **roudhos*, cp. Gr. ἐρυθρός, *red*; *midd*, Goth. *midjis*, Skr. *mādhyas*, *middle*.

gēotan, Goth. *giutan*, *to pour*, cp. Gr. χέ(φ)ω, *I pour*; *gōs*, Gr. γήν, *goose*; *wegan*, Goth. *ga-wigan*, *to move, carry*, Lat. *vehō* from **weghō*, *I carry*.

giest, Goth. *gasts*, *guest*, Lat. *hostis*, *stranger, enemy*, prim. form **ghostis*; *stīgan*, Goth. *steigan*, *to ascend*, Gr. στείχω from **steighō*, *I go*.

§ 114. We have already seen (§ 107, note 2) that the parent Indg. language had two series of velars: (1) pure velars which never had labialization. These velars fell together with the palatals in the Germanic, Latin, and Greek languages, but were kept apart in Sanskrit. (2) Velars with labialization. These velars appear in the Germanic languages partly with and partly without labialization; in the latter case they fell together with prim. Germanic **χ**, **k**, **g** from Indg. **k**, **g**, **gh** (§§ 109, 110, 112).

The **w** in prim. Germanic **χw**, **kw**, **zw** from Indg. **q^w**, **g^w**, **g^wh**, and in prim. Germanic **zw** from Indg. **q^w** by Verner's law (§ 115) regularly remained before Indg. **ě**, **ĩ**, **ə**, **a**, **ā** (= prim. Germanic **ō**), and also in the combinations vowel + **zw** + liquid or **n**, but regularly disappeared before Indg. **ũ**, **ō**, **o** (= prim. Germanic **a**), and also in the initial combinations **kw**- or **zw**- + liquid, in the medial combinations **-zwj**-, **-nzw-**, **-χwt**-, and when final. These sound-laws became greatly obscured during the prim. Germanic period through form-transference and levelling out in various directions:—

1. Prim. Germanic **χw** from Indg. **q^w**. Regular forms were: OE. **hwil**, Goth. **hveila**, *time*; Goth. **saihwit**, *he sees*, Indg. ***séq^weti**; Goth. **hwis**, Indg. ***q^weso**, *whose*; and with regular loss of **w** OE. **heals**, Goth. **hals**, *neck*, Indg. ***q^wolsos**; OS. OHG. **gi-siht**, *sight, look*; OE. **seah**, OS. OHG. **sah**, *he saw*. After the analogy of forms like Goth. **hwis** were formed Goth. **hwas**, OE. **hwā** for ***has**, ***hā**, Indg. ***q^wos**, *who*. From forms like Goth. **saihwit**, the **hw** was levelled out into all forms of the verb; and conversely from forms like OE. **sēon** from ***seohan**, older ***sehan** = OS. OHG. **sehan**, *to see*, Indg. ***séq^wonom**, the **h** (= **χ**) was levelled out into all forms of the present.

2. Prim. Germanic **kw** from Indg. **g^w**. Regular forms were: OE. **cwicu**, Goth. **qius**, Lat. **vīvus** from ***gwīwos**, *quick, alive*; Goth. **qima**, OHG. **quimu** beside OE. **cume**, *I come*; pret. pl. Goth. **qēmūn**, OE. **cwōmon** from ***cwāmun**, *they came*; OE. **cū**, OS. **kō**, Indg. acc. ***g^wōm**, *cow*. After the analogy of forms like Goth. **qima**, OHG. **quimu**, Indg. ***g^wémō**, the **q**, **qu** were levelled out into all forms of these verbs, as pret. **qam**, **quam** for ***kam**, Indg. ***g^wómā**. From forms like Goth. **sigqip**, *he sinks*, the **q** (= **kw**) was levelled out into all forms, and conversely from forms like OE. **sincan**, Indg. ***seng^wonom**, the **c** was levelled out into all forms.

3. Prim. Germanic **zw** from Indg. **g^wh** and the **zw** from Indg. **q^w** by Verner's law (§ 115) became **gw** in the medial combination **-nzw-** before palatal vowels, as Goth. **siggwip**, *he*

sings. But in all other cases either the **g** or the **w** regularly disappeared according to the sound-laws stated above.

4. Prim. Germanic **gw** from Indg. **g^wh**. Regular forms were: Goth. *mawi*, *maiden*, beside *magus*, OE. *magu*, *boy*, *son*; OE. *snīweþ*, OHG. *snīwit*, *it snows*, OHG. pp. *versnigan*; Goth. *siggwiþ*, *he sings*, beside OE. inf. *sigan*; Goth. *hneiwiþ*, *he bows*, *declines*, beside OE. inf. *hnīgan*. And then through levelling out in different directions the **w**, **gw**, or **g** became generalized in the verbs, as OE. *snīwan*, *singeþ*, *hnīgeþ* for **snīgan*, **singweþ*, **hniweþ*; Goth. *siggwan*, *hneiwan* for **siggan*, **hneigan*.

5. Prim. Germanic medial **-gw-** from Indg. **-q^w-** by Verner's law. Regular forms were: Goth. *siuns*, OE. *sīen* (*sīon*, *sēon*), from **se(g)wnis*, *a seeing*, *face*: Goth. *saihiþ*, *he sees*; OE. *hwēol*, *hweowol* from **χwe(g)wlo-*, *wheel*; OE. gen. *holwes*, *horwes* beside nom. *holh*, *hollow*, *horh*, *dirt*; pret. pl. subj. *sāwen* (OS. *sāwin*) beside pret. pl. indic. *sēgon* (Anglian *sēgon*), *we saw*; pp. *sewen* from **se(g)wenós*, *seen*.

Analogical formations were: WS. *sāwon* with **w** from the pret. subj. *sāwe*, pl. *sāwen*, and the pp. *sewen*; Anglian pp. *segen* with **g** from *sēgon*; and similarly pp. *sigen* beside the regular form *siwen*, *strained*; and *ligen* for **liwen*, *lent*.

NOTE.—In several words the Indg. velars, when preceded or followed by a **w** or another labial in the same word, appear in the Germanic languages as labials by assimilation. The most important examples are: OE. OS. *wulf*, Goth. *wulfs*, OHG. *wolf* = Gr. *λύκος* for **flukos*, prim. form **wlq^wos*, *wolf*; OE. *fēower* (but *fyper-fēte*, *four-footed*), Goth. *fidwōr*, OS. OHG. *flor*, prim. form **q^wetwōres*, Lat. *quattuor*, *four*; OE. OS. *fif*, Goth. *fimf*, OHG. *fimf*, *finf*, prim. form **pérq^we*, cp. Skr. *páñca*, *five*; OE. *weorpan*, Goth. *wairpan*, O.Icel. *verpa*, OS. *werpan*, OHG. *werfan*, *to throw*, cp. O.Bulgarian *vrīgā*, *I throw*; OE. *swāpan*, OHG. *sweifan*, *to swing*, cp. Lithuanian *swaikstù*, *I become dizzy*.

VERNER'S LAW.

§ 115. One of the most important sound-changes which took place in prim. Germanic is known by the name of Verner's law, and was due to the influence of the Indg. system of accentuation.

In Indg. the principal accent of a word could fall on any syllable just as in Sanskrit, and this system of accentuation was preserved in prim. Germanic at the time Verner's law operated ; it was not until a later period of the prim. Germanic language that the principal accent became confined to the root-syllable of a word (see § 8).

After the completion of the first sound-shifting, and while the principal accent of a word was not yet confined to the root-syllable, a uniform interchange took place between the voiceless and voiced spirants, which may be stated thus :—

The medial spirants **f**, **p**, **χ**, **χw**, **s** and the final spirant **-s** regularly became **þ**, **ð**, **ǵ**, **ǵw**, **z** when the vowel next preceding them did not, according to the original Indg. system of accentuation, bear the principal accent of the word. The **þ**, **ð**, **ǵ**, **ǵw** which thus arose from Indg. **p**, **t**, **k**, **q**, **q^w** underwent in the Germanic languages all further changes in common with the **þ**, **ð**, **ǵ**, **ǵw** from Indg. **bh**, **dh**, **gh**, **gh**, **g^{wh}**.

From the above it will be seen that the interchanging pairs of consonants due to Verner's law were in prim. Germanic **f—þ**, **p—ð**, **χ—ǵ**, **χw—ǵw**, and **s—z**. They underwent various changes partly in prim. Germanic, partly in West Germanic, and partly in the separate languages. Already in prim. Germanic **ǵw** became differentiated into **w** and **ǵ** (§ 114) ; **ɾ** disappeared before **χ** (§ 20), and **ɾǵ** became **ɾg** (§ 112), whence the interchange of **χ—ɾg** ; **þ**, **ð** became **b**, **d** after their corresponding nasals (§ 112). In West Germanic **χw** became **χ** (see § 114) ; **z** became **r** medially and disappeared finally (§ 133) ; **ð** became **d** (§ 134). In OE. the two sounds **f—þ** fell together in **þ** (written **f**) medially, and in **f** finally (§§ 139–40), so that the original interchange between **f—þ** became entirely obliterated ; **χ** disappeared between vowels (§ 144), when preserved it was written **h** ; and **p**, **s** became voiced between vowels, although the **p**, **s** were preserved in writing (§ 139). So that in OE. we have the following interchanging pairs of consonants :—

p—d

s—r

h or loss of h (= prim. Germ. χ)—g

h or loss of h (= prim. Germ. χw)—g, w (= prim. Germ. gw)

h or loss of h (= prim. Germ. $\rho\chi$)—ng.

The s, f, h in the combinations sp, st, sk, ss, ft, fs, hs, and ht were not subject to this law.

§ 116. Verner's law manifests itself most clearly in the various parts of strong verbs, where the infinitive, present participle, present tense, and preterite (properly perfect) singular had the principal accent on the root-syllable, but the indicative pret. plural, the pret. subjunctive (properly optative), and past participle had the principal accent on the ending, as prim. Germanic *wérpō > OE. *weorpe*, *I become* = Skr. *vártā-mi*, *I turn*; pret. indic. 3. sing. *wárþ(e) > OE. *wearþ*, *he became* = Skr. *va-várta*, *he has turned*; pret. 1. pers. pl. *wurðumé > OE. *wurdum (*wurdon* is the 3. pers. pl. used for all persons) = Skr. *va-vrtimá*, *we have turned*; past participle *wurðaná-, -ená- > OE. *worden* = Skr. *va-vrtānā-*; pres. participle *berende*, *bearing*, cp. Gk. gen. *φέρωντος*.

þ—d. *cweþan*, *to say*, *liþan*, *to go*, *snīþan*, *to cut*; pret. sing. *cwæþ*, *lāþ*, *snāþ*; pret. pl. *cwædon*, *lidon*, *snidon*; pp. *cweden*, *liden*, *sniden*.

s—r. *cēosan*, *to choose*, *drēosan*, *to fall*, *forlēosan*, *to lose*; pret. sing. *cēas*, *drēas*, *forlēas*; pret. pl. *curon*, *druron*, *forluron*; pp. *coren*, *droren*, *forloren*.

h—g. *flēon* (OHG. *fliohan*), *to flee*, *slēan* (Goth. *slahan*), *to strike*, *slay*, *tēon* (Goth. *tiuhan*), *to draw*, *lead*; pret. sing. *flēah*, *slōh*, *tēah*; pret. pl. *flugon*, *slōgon*, *tugon*; pp. *flogen*, *slægen*, *togen*.

h—g, w. *sēon* (Goth. *saíhan*), *to see*; pret. sing. *seah*; pret. pl. WS. *sāwon*, Anglian *sēgon*; pp. WS. *sewen*, Anglian *segen*; *sīon*, *sēon* (Goth. **seihan*), *to strain*; pret. sing. *sāh*; pret. pl. *sigon*; pp. *siwen*, *sigen*. See § 114. 5.

h—ng. *fōn* (Goth. *fāhan*, prim. Germ. **farḡanan*), *to seize*,

hōn (Goth. *hāhan*, prim. Germ. **χαρχαναν*), *to hang*; pret. pl. *fēngon*, *hēngon*; pp. *fangen*, *hangen*.

§ 117. Causative verbs had originally suffix accentuation, and therefore also exhibit the change of consonants given above, as *weorpan*, *to become*: *ā-wierdan*, *to destroy, injure*, cp. Skr. *vārtāmi*, *I turn*; *vartāyāmi*, *I cause to turn*; *līpan*, *to go*: *lēdan*, *to lead*; *ā-rīsan*, *to arise*: *rēran*, *to raise*; *genesan*, *to recover*: *nerian*, *to save*.

§ 118. Examples of the operation of Verner's law in noun-forms, &c., are:—*seofon*, Goth. *sibun*: Gr. *ἑπτά*, *seven*. *fæder*: Gr. *πατήρ*, *father*; *mōdor*: Skr. *mātār-*, *mother*; *dēad*, *dead*: *dēap*, *death*. OE. *tien* (Goth. *taihun*), Gk. *δέκα*, *ten*, beside *-tig* (Goth. pl. *tigjus*), Gr. *δεκάς*, *decade*; *swēor* (Goth. *swaihra*, Indg. **swékuros*), *father-in-law*, beside *sweger*, Gr. *ἐκυρά*, *mother-in-law*. OHG. *haso* beside OE. *hara*, *hare*; Goth. *ausō* beside OE. *ēare*, *ear*.

THE INDG. COMBINATIONS OF EXPLOSIVES + t OR s.

§ 119. 1. The mediae + t or s became tenues + t or s in Indo-Germanic.

2. The Indg. mediae aspiratae + t became tenues + t in early prim. Germanic.

3. The Indg. tenues aspiratae and mediae aspiratae + s had in prim. Germanic the same development as the original tenues + s.

Then *pt*, *kt*, *qt*; *ps*, *ks*, *qs* were shifted to *ft*, *χt*; *fs*, *χs* at the same time as the original Indg. tenues became voiceless spirants (§ 109). And *tt*, *ts* became *ss*. *ss* then became simplified to *s* after long syllables, and before and after consonants. So that for purely practical purposes the above sound-laws may be thus formulated:—Every labial + t or s became *ft*, *fs*; every guttural + t or s became *χt*, *χs*; every dental + t or s became *ss*, *s*.

This explains the frequent interchange between *p*, *b* (*b*), and

f; between k, g (g), and h; and between t, þ, ð (d), and ss, s in forms which are etymologically related

p, þ (b)—f. OE. *scieppan*, Goth. *skapjan*, *to create*, beside OE. *ge-sceaft*, *creature*, Goth. *ga-skafts*, *creation*; Goth. *giban*, OHG. *geban*, *to give*, beside Goth. *fra-gifts*, *a giving, espousal*, OE. OHG. *gift*, *gift*; OHG. *weban*, *to weave*, beside English *weft*; OS. *thurþan*, *to need*, beside pret. *thorfta*.

k, g (g)—h. OE. *wyrcean*, Goth. *waúrkJan*, *to work*, beside pret. and pp. OE. *worhte*, *worht*, Goth. *waúrhta*, *waúrhts*; OE. *þyncan*, Goth. *þugċjan*, *to seem*, beside pret. and pp. OE. *þūhte*, *þūht*, Goth. *þūhta*, **þūhts*; OE. *magon*, OHG. *magun*, *they may, can*, beside pret. OE. *meahte*, Goth. OHG. *mahta*; OE. *bycgan*, Goth. *bugċjan*, *to buy*, beside pret. and pp. OE. *bohte*, *boht*, Goth. *baúhta*, *baúhts*; OE. *bringan*, Goth. *briggan*, *to bring*, beside pret. and pp. OE. *brōhte*, *brōht*, Goth. *brāhta*, **brāhts*.

t, þ, ð (d)—ss, s. OE. Goth. *witan*, *to know*, beside pret. OE. *wisse*, Goth. *wissa*; OE. *sittan*, Goth. *sitan*, *to sit*, beside OE. *sess*, *seat*; OE. *cwepan*, Goth. *qipan*, *to say*, beside Goth. *ga-qiss*, *consent*.

ss became s after long syllables, and before and after consonants, as OE. Goth. *witan*, *to know*, beside OE. *wīs*, *wise*, Goth. *unweis*, *unlearned*; OE. *etan*, *to eat*, beside *æss*, *carriion*; OE. *hȳdan*, *to hide*, beside *hūs*, from **χūtso-*, *house*; OE. *mōt*, *I may*, beside OHG. pret. *muosa*.

In verbal forms we often meet with st instead of ss (s). In such cases the st is due to the analogy of forms where t was quite regular, e. g. regular forms were Goth. *last*, *thou didst gather*, inf. *lisan*; Goth. *slōht*, *thou didst strike*, inf. *slahan*; OE. *meaht*, *thou canst*, inf. *magan* (see § 109, notes); then after the analogy of such forms were made OE. *wāst* for **wās*, Goth. *wáist* for **wáis*, *thou knowest*; OE. *mōst* for **mōs*, *thou art allowed*; regular forms were pret. sing. OE. *worhte*, Goth. *waúrhta*, OHG. *worhta*, beside inf. OE. *wyrcean*, Goth. *waúrċjan*, OHG. *wurken*, *to work*; then after the analogy of such

forms were made OE. *wiste* beside *wisse*, OHG. *wista* beside *wissa*, *I knew*; OE. *mōste* for **mōse* (= OHG. *muosa*), *I was allowed*.

ASSIMILATION OF CONSONANTS.

§ 120. *-md-* became *-nd-*, as OE. Goth. *hund* from Indg. **kmtóm* = Gr. ἑκατόν, *hundred*; OE. *scand*, Goth. *skanda*, *shame, disgrace*, beside OE. *scamian*, Goth. *skaman*, *to be ashamed*; OE. *sund*, *a swimming*, beside *swimman*, *to swim*.

§ 121. *-nw-* became *-nn-*, as OE. *cinn*, Goth. *kinnus*, from Indg. **genw-*: Gr. γένυ-s, *chin, cheek*; OE. Goth. *rinnan* from **rinwan-*, *to run, flow*, cp. Skr. *riṇvāmi*, *I let flow*; OE. *pyrne*, cp. Lat. *tenuis*, Skr. fem. *tanvī*, *thin*.

§ 122. *-ln-* became *-ll-*, as OE. *full*, Goth. *fulls* = Lithuanian *pilnas*, Indg. **plnós*, *full*; OE. *hyll* = Lat. *collis* from **klnís*, *hill*; OE. *wull*, Goth. *wulla* = Lith. *vilna*, *wool*.

§ 123. *-dl-* became *-ll-*, as OE. *steall* from **staðla-*, Indg. **stedhlo-*, *stall*, beside *staþol*, *base, foundation*. The *ll* was simplified to *l* after long vowels, as OE. *ælan* from **aiðlan-*, *to burn*: Gr. αἶθω, *I burn*.

§ 124. Prim. Germanic *hn*, *dn*, *gn* = Indg. *pn^l*, *tn^l*, *kn^l*, *qn^l* (by Verner's law, § 115), and *bhn^l*, *dhn^l*, *ghn^l*, *ghn^l*, became *hb*, *dd*, *gg* before the principal accent, and then later they became *bb*, *dd*, *gg*; and in like manner Indg. *bn^l*, *dn^l*, *gn^l*, *qn^l* became *bb*, *dd*, *gg*. And these mediae were shifted to *pp*, *tt*, *kk* at the same time as the original Indg. mediae became tenues (§ 110). These geminated consonants were simplified to *p*, *t*, *k* after long syllables. Examples are:—OE. *cropp*, *crop* (of birds), O.Icel. *kroppr*, *body, trunk*, from **grbhn^l*; OE. *hnæpp*, from **χnaðn^l*, or **χnabn^l*, *basin, bowl*; OE. *hoppian*, O.Icel. *hoppa*, from **χoðn^l*, Indg. **qupn^l*; OE. OS. *topp*, O.Icel. *toppr*, from **toðn^l*, *top, summit*; OE. *hēap*, from **χauðn^l*, *heap*; OE. *cnotta*, from **knoðn^l*, beside OHG. *chnodo*, *chnoto*, *knot*; OE. *hwit*, Goth. *hveits*, from **χwiðn^l*, *white*; OE. *bucc*; O.Icel. *bokkr*, prim. form **bhug-*

nós, *buck*; OE. *liccian*, from **legn-*, *to lick*, cp. Gr. *λίχνος*, *lickerish, dainty*; OE. *locc*, O.Icel. *lokkr*, prim. form **lugnós*, *lock*; OE. *lōcian*, from **lōgn-*, *to look*.

THE LOSS OF CONSONANTS.

§ 125. Original final *-m* became *-n*, and then it, as also Indg. final *-n*, disappeared in dissyllabic and polysyllabic words during the prim. Germanic period. For examples, see § 80. 1.

§ 126. Guttural *n* (*ŋ*) disappeared before *χ* with lengthening and nasalization of the preceding vowel. For examples, see § 20.

§ 127. The consonants, which arose from the Indg. final explosives (*t*, *d*), disappeared in prim. Germanic, except after a short accented vowel. For examples, see § 80. 2.

§ 128. Postconsonantal *w* disappeared before *u*, as OE. *sund*, *a swimming*, beside inf. *swimman*, *to swim*, O.Icel. pp. *sumenn*; OE. pp. *sungen*, beside inf. *swingan*, *to swing*. In verbal forms the *w* was mostly reintroduced in the pret. pl. and pp. after the analogy of forms which regularly had *w*, e.g. pret. pl. *swummon*, *swungen*, *swullon*, pp. *swummen*, *swungen* (beside the regular form *sungen*), *swollen*, beside inf. *swimman*, *to swim*, *swingan*, *to swing*, *swellan*, *to swell*. On the loss of *w* in the prim. Germanic combinations *χw*, *kw*, *Ʒw*, see § 114.

OTHER CONSONANT CHANGES.

§ 129. Indg. *z* + media became *s* + tenuis, as Goth. *asts*, OHG. *ast* = Gr. *ῥῆος*, from **ozdos*, *branch, twig*; OE. OHG. *nest*, Lat. *nīdus*, from **ni-zdos*, *nest*, related to root **sed-*, *sit*; OE. *masc*, OHG. *masca*, *mesh, net*, cp. Lithuanian *mezgũ*, *I tie in knots*.

Indg. *z* + media aspirata became *z* + voiced spirant, as OE. *meord*, Goth. *mizdō*, *pay, reward*, cp. O.Bulgarian *mizda*, Gr. *μισθός*, *pay*; OE. *mearg*, OHG. *marg*, O.Bulgarian *mozgũ*, *marrow*, root **mesgh-*.

§ 130. Initial **x** became an aspirate (written **h**) before vowels, as OE. Goth. OS. **hund**, OHG. **hunt**, from ***xundān**, prim. form ***kmtóm**, *hundred*. Some scholars assume that it also became an aspirate medially between vowels. Upon this assumption it would be difficult to account for the breaking in forms like OE. **slēan** from ***sleahan**, older ***slaḡan**-, Goth. **slahan**, *to strike, slay*. See §§ 51, 144.

§ 131. Initial and medial **sr** became **str**, as OE. **strēam**, O.Icel. **straumr**, OS. OHG. **strōm**, *stream*, cp. Skt. **srávati**, *it flows*; OE. **sweostor**, Goth. **swistar**, OS. **swestar**, OHG. **swester**, *sister*, with **t** from the weak stem-form as in the Goth. lat. sing. **swistr** = prim. Germanic ***swestri**, cp. Skr. dat. **svásrē**; O.Icel. **fōstr**, OE. **fōstor**, *food, sustenance*, cp. Goth. **fōdjan**, OE. **fēdan**, *to feed*.

§ 132. The remaining Indg. consonants suffered no further material changes which need be mentioned here. Summing up the results of §§ 109-31, we arrive at the following system of consonants for the close of the prim. Germanic period:—

		Labial.	Inter- dental.	Dental.	Palatal and Guttural.
Explosives	{ voiceless	p		t	k
	{ voiced	b		d	g
Spirants	{ voiceless	f	þ	s	x
	{ voiced	ƿ	ð	z	ʒ
Nasals		m		n	ŋ
Liquids				l, r	
Semivowels		w			j (palatal)

To these must be added the aspirate **h**.

CHAPTER VII

SPECIAL WEST GERMANIC CHANGES OF THE
PRIM. GERMANIC CONSONANTS

§ 133. Prim. Germanic *z* from Indg. *s* by Verner's law (§ 115) became *r* medially, and disappeared finally, as OE. *māra*, OS. OHG. *mēro* = Goth. *máiza*, *greater*; pp. OE. *coren*, OS. OHG. *gi-koran*, beside OE. inf. *cēosan*, *to choose*; OE. *herian* = Goth. *hazjan*, *to praise*; OE. *dēor*, OS. *dior*, OHG. *tior*, Goth. *dīus* (gen. *dtīuzis*), prim. Germanic **ðeuzan*, *deer, wild animal*; OE. *dæg*, OS. *dag*, OHG. *tag* = Goth. *dags*, O.Icel. *dagr*, prim. Germanic **ðazaz*, *day*; pl. OE. *giefæ*, OS. *gebæ*, OHG. *gebā* = Goth. *gibōs*, O.Icel. *gjafar*, prim. Germanic **gebōz*, *gifts*; pl. OE. *guman*, OS. *gumon*, OHG. *gomon* = Goth. *gumans*, O.Icel. *gumar*, prim. Germanic **gomaniz*, *men*.

§ 134. Prim. Germanic *ḏ* (§§ 113, 115) became *d*, which was shifted to *t* in OHG., as OE. *fæder*, OS. *fadar*, OHG. *fater*, beside O.Icel. *faðer*, *father*; OE. OS. *word*, OHG. *wort*, beside O.Icel. *orð*, *word*; pp. OE. *worden*, OS. *wordan*, OHG. *wortan*, beside OE. inf. *weorþan*, *to become*.

§ 135. All single consonants, except *r*, were doubled after a short vowel before a following *j*. This *j* was mostly retained in OS., but generally disappeared in OE. and OHG. *bj*, *ḋj*, *gj* became *bb*, *dd*, *gg* (generally written *og* in OE.). Examples are: OE. *hliehhan*, OHG. *hlahhan* = Goth. *hlahjan*, *to laugh*; OE. *lecgan*, OS. *leggian*, OHG. *leggen* = Goth. *lagjan*, *to lay*; OE. *settan*, OS. *settian* = Goth. *satjan*, *to set*; OE. *biddan*, OS. *biddian*, OHG. *bitten* = Goth. *bidjan*, *to pray, ask*; OE. *sibb* = Goth. *sibja*, *relationship*; OE. *hell* = Goth. *halja*, *hell*; gen. OE. *cynnes* = Goth. *kunjis*, *of a race, generation*. But OE. OS. *nerian*, OHG. *nerien* = Goth. *nasjan*, *to save*; OE. *herian* = Goth. *hazjan*, *to praise* (§ 151).

NOTE.—The *j* in the combination *ji* had disappeared before the West Germanic doubling of consonants took place, e. g. in the 2. and 3. pers. sing. of the pres. indicative, as OE. *legest*, *legeþ*, OS. *legis*, *legid*, OHG. *legis*, *legit* = Goth. *lagjis*, *lagjiþ*, beside inf. OE. *lēcgan*, OS. *leggian*, OHG. *leggen*, Goth. *lagjan*, *to lay*.

§ 136. *p*, *t*, *k*, and *h* (= *χ*) were also doubled in West Germanic before a following *r* or *l*. The doubling regularly took place in the inflected forms (as gen. OE. OS. OHG. *bittres*, OE. *æpples*, OS. *apples*), and was then generally extended to the uninflected forms by levelling, as OE. *bitter* (*biter*), OS. OHG. *bittar*, cp. Goth. *báitrs*, *bitter*; OE. *hlūttor* (*hlūtor*), OS. *hluttar*, OHG. *hlūttar*, cp. Goth. *hlūtrs*, *clear*, *pure*; OE. *snottor* (*snotor*), OS. OHG. *snottar*, cp. Goth. *snutrs*, *wise*; OE. *æppel* (*æpl*), OS. *appul*, cp. O.Icel. *epli*, *apple*; OE. *wæccer* beside *wæcer*, *wacor*, *watchful*; O.Nth. *tæhher* beside WS. *tēar* from **teahur*, older **taχur*, *tear*.

§ 137. Doubling of consonants by the assimilation of post-consonantal *n* to the preceding consonant also regularly took place in the weak declension of nouns, as sing. nom. **lapō*, *lappet*, acc. **lapan(un)*, beside gen. pl. **lapnō(n)* > **lappō(n)*, cp. §§ 246-54. This interchange between the single and double consonants gave rise to levelling in a twofold direction, so that one or other of the forms was extended to all cases; thus in OE. the forms with double consonants were generalized in words like *ebba*, *ebb*; *frogga*, *frog*; *lappa* (*læppa*), *lappet*; and the forms with single consonant in words like *boga*, *bow*; *dropa*, *drop*; *nefa*, *nephew*.

CHAPTER VIII

THE OE. DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRIMITIVE
GERMANIC CONSONANT-SYSTEM

§ 138. Before entering upon the history of the individual consonants in OE., it will be well to treat here several consonant changes which are best dealt with collectively, viz. the voicing and unvoicing of consonants, the vocalization of consonants, assimilation, metathesis, the loss of consonants, the simplification of double consonants, and the doubling of single consonants.

1. THE VOICING OF CONSONANTS.

§ 139. The voiceless spirants *f*, *p*, *s* became the voiced spirants *b*, *d*, *z* medially between voiced sounds in simple words, although the *f*, *p*, *s* were retained in writing (see § 6), as *cēafl*, *jaw*; *ofen*, *oven*; *wulfas*, *wolves*; *brōþor*, *brother*; *āpas*, *oaths*; *eorþe*, *earth*; *fæþm*, *embrace*, *fathom*; *nosu*, *nose*; *bōsm*, *bosom*; gen. *hūses*: nom. *hūs*, *house*.

2. THE UNVOICING OF CONSONANTS.

§ 140. The voiced spirants *b*, *g* became the voiceless spirants *f*, *x* before voiceless sounds and finally, as pret. *geaf*, *he gave*: inf. *giefan*; *healf*, *half*; *hlāf*, *loaf*; *burh*, *city*, *dāh*, *dough*, *bēah*, *ring*, *bracelet*, beside gen. *burge*, *dāges*, *bēages*; *stihst* beside older *stigest*, *thou ascendest*. *ng* became *no* before voiceless consonants, but the *g* was generally restored through association with forms where *g* was regular, as *brincst*, *thou bringest*, *brincþ*, *he brings*, beside *bringst*, *bringþ* with *g* restored from other forms of the verb.

d became *t* before and after voiceless consonants. When two dentals thus came together, they became *tt* which were simplified to *t* finally and after consonants. And interconsonantal *t*

generally disappeared before **s**. Examples are: **bitst** beside **bideſt**, *thou prayest*; **bint** from ***bindþ**, older **bindeþ**, *he binds*; **bit**, **bitt** from ***bidþ**, older **bideþ**, *he prays*; **gesynto** from ***gesundipu**, *health*; **iecte** (Goth. ***áukida**), *he increased*; **bin(t)st**, older **bindeſt**, *thou bindest*. The **d** was often restored from forms where it was regular, as **findst**: **findan**.

3. THE VOCALIZATION OF CONSONANTS.

§ 141. When **w** and **j** came to stand finally after consonants through the loss of case-endings, they became **-u** and **-i**, later **-o**, **-e**, as **bealu**, **-o**, *evil*, **gearu**, **-o**, *ready*, beside gen. **bealwes**, **gearwes**; acc. here (Goth. **hari**) from ***ǵarj(an)**, *army*.

In late OE. palatal **g** became **i** which combined with a preceding **æ**, **e** to form a diphthong, as **dæi**, *day*, **wei**, *way*, beside older **dæg**, **weg**; and **-ig** became **-i** through the intermediate stage **-ī**, as **æni**, *any*, **hefi**, *heavy*, beside older **ænig**, **hefig**. On vocalic **l**, **m**, **n**, **r**, see § 96.

4. ASSIMILATION.

§ 142. **s** or **l** + **r** became **ss**, **ll**, as **lāssa** from ***lās(i)ra**, *smaller*; fem. gen. dat. sing. **piſse** (OHG. **desera**) from ***piſre**, *of* or *to this*; gen. pl. **piſsa** from ***piſra**; **sēlla** beside **sēlra**, *better*. **hr** and **rs** became **rr**, as **hierra**, *higher*, **nēarra**, *nearer*, beside older **hiēhra**, **nēahra**; **wierrest**, *worst*, beside **wiersa**, *worse*. **ps** became **ss**, as **bliss**, *bliss*, **liſs**, *favour*, beside **bliþs**, **liþs**. In late OE. **þd** became **dd**, as **cȳdde** beside older **cȳþde**, *he made known*. **fn**, **fm** became **mn**, **mm** in late OE., as **emn** (Goth. **ibns**), *even*; **stemn** (Goth. **stibna**), *voice*, beside older **ef(e)n**, **ſtef(e)n**; **wimman** beside older **wifman**, *woman*.

5. METATHESIS.

§ 143. Antevocalic **r** often became postvocalic by metathesis when a short vowel was followed by **n**, **nn**, **s**, or **s** + consonant, as **ærn** (Goth. **razn**), *house*; **forſe** (OHG. **frosk**), *frog*; **hors** (O.Icel. **hross**), *horse*; **iernan** (Goth. **rinnan**), *to run*; **biernan**

(Goth. *brinnan*), *to burn*; *gærs* (Goth. *gras*), *grass*. Medial *sc* often underwent metathesis to *cs* (written *x*), especially in late WS., as *axe*, *ashes*, *āxian*, *to ask*, *fixas*, *fishes*, beside *asce*, *āscian*, *fiscas*. *sp* sometimes became *ps* and vice versa in late OE., as *æps*, *aspen*, *wæsp*, *wasp*, beside *æsp*, *wæps*. *sl* became *ls* in unstressed syllables, as *rædels* (OS. *rādislo*), *riddle*; *byrgels* (OS. *burgisli*), *tomb*; *brīdels*, *bridle*.

6. THE LOSS OF CONSONANTS.

§ 144. *w* disappeared before *u* and *e* (= older *i*), as *clēa* from **cla(w)u*, *claw*, *sceadu* from **scad(w)u*, *shadow*, beside gen. *clawe*, *sceadwe*; neut. pl. *fēa* from **fa(w)u*, *few* (see § 69); *sā* from **sā(w)i-*, older **saiwi-* (Goth. *sáiws*), *sea*; *gierop* from prim. Germanic **garwiþ*, *he prepares*, pret. *gierede* from prim. Germanic **garwiðā-*, *he prepared*, beside inf. *gierwan*. The *w* was often reintroduced after the analogy of forms where *w* was regular, as *clawu* with *w* from the gen. and dat. *clawe*. *w* often disappeared in the second elements of compounds, as *hlāford* from *hlāfweard*, *lord*; *nāuht* beside older *nā-wuht*, *naught*, and in certain verbal forms with the negative prefix, *ne*, as *næs*, *was not*, *nāron*, *were not*, *nāt*, *knows not*, *nołde*, *would not*, *nyton*, *they know not* = *ne wæs*, &c.

Medial *j* disappeared after original long closed syllables or syllables which became long by the West Germanic doubling of consonants (§ 135), as *dēman* (Goth. *dōmjan*), *to judge*; *hild* from **hildju*, *war*; *biddan* = Goth. *bidjan*, *to pray*; *hell* = Goth. *halja*, *hell*.

m and *n* disappeared before *f*, *þ*, *s* with lengthening of the preceding vowel, as *fif*, Goth. *fimf*, *five*; *sōfte*, OHG. *samfto*, *softly*; *ōsle*, OHG. *amsala*, *ousel*; *ōper*, Goth. *anþar*, *other*; *ōūþ*, Goth. *kunþs*, *known*; *ūs*, Goth. *uns*, *us*, see § 73.

Final *-n* generally disappeared in verbal forms before the pronouns *wē*, *wit*; *gē*, *git*, as *binde wē*, *let us bind*. On the loss of final *-n* in Nth. see *OE. Grammar*, § 288. *n* sometimes

disappeared between consonants, as *elboga*, *elbow*; *sæterdæg*, *Saturday*, beside *elnboga*, *sæterndæg*.

The guttural *ɾ* disappeared in an unstressed syllable when preceded by *n* in a stressed syllable in the course of the OE. period, as *cynig*, *king*, *penig*, *penny*, beside older *cyning*, *pening*.

d disappeared in the combination *ldl*, as *sellic* beside *seldlic* (OS. *seldlic*), *strange*, *wonderful*. *t* often disappeared between consonants, as *fæsnian*, *to fasten*, *rihlice*, *justly*, beside *fæstnian*, *rihtlice*. *p* disappeared before *st*, as *cwist*, *thou sayest*, *wierst*, *thou becomest*, beside older *cwipest*, *wierpest*.

g often disappeared after palatal vowels before a following dental or consonantal *n* with lengthening of the preceding vowel, as *bridel*, *bridle*, *mæden*, *maiden*, *rīnan*, *to rain*, *þēnian*, *to serve*, beside older *brigdel*, *mægden*, *rignan*, *þegnian*, see § 72.

Medial *x* disappeared before *s* + consonant, between a vowel and a following liquid or nasal, between a liquid and a following vowel, and between vowels, as *fȳst* from **fūxstiz*, *fist*; *wæsma*, *wæstm*, *growth*, beside *weaxan* (OHG. *wahsan*), *to grow*. *ēorod* from **eohrād*, *troop*; *hēla* from **hōhila*, *heel*; *ȳmest* (Goth. *áuhmists*), *highest*. *fēolan* (Goth. *filhan*), *to penetrate*, *hide*; gen. *mēares* beside nom. *mearh*, *horse*. *ēa* (OHG. *aha*), *water*, *river*; *slēan* (Goth. *slahan*), *to slay*. *sēon* (OHG. *sehan*), *to see*. See §§ 68, 74–5.

h often disappeared with *ne* and *habban*, as *nabban*, *not to have*, *næbbe*, *I have not*, *næfde*, *I had not*. It also disappeared in the second element of compounds which were no longer felt as such in OE., as *bēot* from **bi-hāt*, *boast*; *frēols*, from **frīhals*, *freedom*; *licuma* beside older *lic-hama*, *body*.

7. THE SIMPLIFICATION OF DOUBLE CONSONANTS.

§ 145. Medial double consonants were simplified before and after other consonants; they were also simplified in pronunciation finally, although often retained in writing; also in unstressed syllables in late OE. Examples are: pret. sing. *cyste*, *fylde*, *ypte*, beside inf. *cyssan*, *to kiss*; *fyllan*, *to fill*, *yppan*, *to reveal*;

third pers. sing. pres. indic. *fieþ*, *swimþ*, *winþ*, beside inf. *feallan*, *to fall*, *swimman*, *to swim*, *winnan*, *to fight*. Pret. sing. *gewielde* from **gewield-de*, *gyrde* from **gyrd-de*, *reste* from **rest-te*, *sende* from **send-de*, beside inf. *gewieldan*, *to subdue*, *gyrdan*, *to gird*, *restan*, *to rest*, *sendan*, *to send*. *buc*, *back*, *eal*, *all*, *man*, *man*, beside *bucc*, *eall*, *mann*. *cg* was always preserved in writing in order to show that it was an explosive and not a spirant, as *brycg*, *bridge*, *mycg*, *midge*. Late OE. *atelic*, *terrible*, *bliccetan*, *to glitter*, *forgiefenes*, *forgiveness*, gen. pl. *ōpera*, *other*, beside older *atollic*, *bliccettan*, *forgiefennes*, *ōperra*.

8. THE DOUBLING OF CONSONANTS.

§ 146. Consonants were doubled during the OE. period before a following *r* or *l* with shortening of a preceding long vowel or diphthong, as *blæddre*, *bladder*, *deoppa*, *deeper*, *hwitra*, *whiter*, beside older *blædre*, *dēopra*, *hwitra*; gen. *mīcles* beside older *mīcles*, nom. *mīcel*, *great*. In words like *attor*, *poison*, *foddor*, *food*, beside older *ātor*, *fōdor*, the doubling of the consonant went out from the inflected forms, as gen. *ātres*, which regularly became *attres* and from which a new nom. *attor* was formed. Cp. § 136.

THE SEMIVOWELS.

w

§ 147. Germanic *w* (written *uu*, *u*, *ƿ* in OE. manuscripts) remained initially before vowels, and generally also initially before and after consonants, as OE. OS. Goth. *witan*, OHG. *wizzan*, *to know*, and similarly *wæter*, *water*; *wilde*, *wild*; *winter*, *winter*; *wlanc*, *proud*; *writan*, *to write*; *cwēn*, *queen*, *wife*; *sweostor*, *sister*; *twā*, *two*.

§ 148. Medial *w* generally remained before vowels, as OE. OS. OHG. *spīwan*, Goth. *speiwan*, *to vomit*, *spit*; *sāwol*, Goth. *sāiwala*, *soul*; *blāwan*, *to blow*; *cnāwan*, *to know*; *rōwan*, *to row*; *meowle*, Goth. *mawilō*, *maiden*; *spearwa*,

sparrow; gen. *cneowes*, *snāwes*, *gearwes*, beside nom. *cnēo*, *knee*, *snā*, *snow*, *gearu*, *ready*.

§ 149. When *w* came to stand at the end of a word or syllable, it became vocalized to *u* (later *o*). The *u* then combined with a preceding short vowel to form a diphthong, but disappeared after long stems, long vowels, and diphthongs, as *bealu* (later *bealo*), *evil*, *calamity*, *nearu*, *narrow*, beside gen. *bealwes*, *nearwes*. Nom. *cnēo*, *knee*, *trēo*, *tree*, beside gen. *cneowes*, *treowes*. But the *w* was mostly reintroduced into the nom. sing. from the inflected forms, especially after long vowels and long diphthongs, as *cnēow*, *snāw*, *strēaw*, beside the regular forms *cnēo*, *snā*, *strēa*, *straw*. And conversely from the new nom. was sometimes formed a new gen., as *cnēowes*, *trēowes* beside older *cneowes*, *treowes*. For the loss of *w*, see § 144.

j

§ 150. Germanic initial *j* (= *i* consonant) had become a palatal spirant like the *y* in NE. *yon* in the oldest period of the language, and was generally written *g*, *ge*, also *i*, *gi* before *u*, as *gēar*, Goth. *jēr*, *year*; *geoc*, *iuc*, Goth. *juk*, *yoke*; *geong*, *giong*, *giung*, Goth. *juggs*, *young*; *giest*, *yeast*; *gingra*, *younger*.

§ 151. It remained (written *g*, *ge*) medially between vowels when the first element was a long vowel or diphthong, as *frīgea* older *frīegea*, Goth. *fráuja*, *lord*, *master*; dat. *hīege* (Goth. *háuja*), *īege*, beside nom. *hīeg*, *hay*, *īeg*, *island* with *-g* from the inflected forms; *fēog(e)an*, *to hate*. It also remained (written *i*, *g*; *ig*, *eg*, also *ige* before *a*) after *r* in the combination short vowel + *r*, as *herian*, *hergan*, *herigan*, *heregan*, *herigea*n, Goth. *hazjan*, *to praise*; gen. sing. *heries*, *herges*, *heriges* = Goth. *harjis*, *of an army*. The *i*, *e* in *ig*, *eg* represent a vocalic glide which was developed between the *r* and the *j*; and the *e* in the pl. *herigeas* merely indicates the palatal nature of the preceding *g*.

For medial -ij-, see § 69; for the loss of medial -j-, see § 135; for Germanic -ī = Indg. -eje, see § 85. 3; and for the vocalization of final -j, see § 141.

THE LIQUIDS.

§ 152. Germanic l and r remained, as *lecgan*, Goth. *lagjan*, *to lay*; *stelan*, Goth. *stilan*, *to steal*; *sceal*, Goth. *skal*, *shall*; and similarly *land*, *land*; *lædan*, *to lead*; *ealu*, *ale*; *slæpan*, *to sleep*; *blōd*, *blood*; *hlāford*, *lord*; *feallan*, *to fall*; *tellan*, *to tell*; *cōl*, *cool*; *full*, *full*. *rēad*, Goth. *ráups*, *red*; *here*, Goth. *harjis*, *army*; *fæder*, Goth. *fadar*, *father*; and similarly *rīdan*, *to ride*; *rūm*, *room*; *beran*, *to bear*; *duru*, *door*; *feorran*, *from afar*; *fȳr*, *fire*. West Germanic medial r from older z (§ 133) also remained, as *betra*, *māra* = Goth. *batiza*, *better*; *māiza*, *greater*.

For vocalic l, r, see § 96; for metathesis, see § 143; and for assimilation, see § 142.

THE NASALS.

§ 153. Germanic m and n generally remained, as *mōna*, Goth. *mēna*, *moon*; *nama*, Goth. *namō*, *name*; *dumb*, Goth. *dumbs*, *dumb*; and similarly *mann*, *man*; *mōdor*, *mother*; *cuman*, *to come*; *climban*, *to climb*; *hām*, *home*; *rūm*, *room*. Final -m, when an element of inflexion, became -n in late OE., as dat. pl. *daƿon*, *sunun* beside older *daƿum*, *sunum*. OE. Goth. *niman*, *to take*; *nefa*, *nephew*; *findan*, *to find*; *grēne*, *green*; *spinnan*, *to spin*; *stān*, *stone*; *synn*, *sin*.

For vocalic m, n, see § 96; and for the loss of m, n, see § 144.

§ 154. Germanic guttural ɾ (written g in Gothic and n in the other languages) only occurred medially before g and k (written c in OE.). In OE. it remained guttural or became palatal according as the following g, c remained guttural or became palatal, cp. §§ 166, 169. Examples are: *bringan*, Goth. *briggan*, *to bring*; *drincan*, Goth. *drigkan*, *to drink*; *geong*, Goth. *juggs*, *young*. *benc* from **ban̥kiz*, *bench*; *lengra* (OHG. *lengiŕo*), *longer*; *pencan*, Goth. *þagkjan*, *to think*.

For the loss of ɾ in unstressed syllables, see § 144.

THE LABIALS.

§ 155. Germanic *p* (§ 110) was of rare occurrence, especially initially. Most of the words beginning with *p* in OE. are Latin or Greek loanwords. *p* remained in OE., as *pād*, Goth. *páida*, *cloak*; *pening*, O.Icel. *penningr*, *penny*; *slāpan*, Goth. *slēpan*, *to sleep*; *stæppan*, *to step*; *dēop*, Goth. *diups*, *deep*; *scip*, Goth. *skip*, *ship*. *peru* (Lat. *pirum*), *pear*; *pund* (Lat. *pondō*), *pound*; *pic* (Lat. acc. *picem*), *pitch*; *pinsian* (Lat. *pensāre*), *to weigh*, *consider*.

§ 156. Germanic *b* (§ 112) and West Germanic *bb* (§§ 135, 137) remained, as *beran*, Goth. *bairan*, *to bear*; *blind*, Goth. *blinds*, *blind*; *dumb*, Goth. *dumbs*, *dumb*; *climban*, *to climb*; *lamb*, *lamb*. *sibb*, Goth. *sibja*, *relationship*; *habban*, *to have*; *ebba*, *ebb*.

§ 157. Germanic *ḡ* (written *f*) remained medially between voiced sounds (§ 113), as *giefan*, Goth. *giban*, *to give*; *seofon*, Goth. *sibun*, *seven*; *sealfian*, Goth. *salbōn*, *to anoint*; *stefn*, Goth. *stibna*, *voice*; *hæfde*, Goth. *habáida*, *he had*; gen. *wifes* (OHG. *wībes*) beside nom. *wif*, *wife*.

For the unvoicing of *ḡ* to *f*, see § 140; and for the assimilation of *bm*, *bn* to *mm*, *mn*, see § 142.

§ 158. Germanic *f* remained initially, medially before voiceless consonants, and finally, as *fæder*, Goth. *fadar*, *father*; *fif*, Goth. *fimf*, *five*; *gesceaft*, Goth. *gaskafts*, *creature*; and similarly *fōt*, *foot*; *feþer*, *feather*; *æfter*, *after*; *ceaf*, *chaff*; *hōf*, *he raised*.

fj became *bb*, as *hebban*, Goth. *hafjan*, *to raise*.

For the voicing of *f* to *ḡ* between voiced sounds, see § 139.

THE DENTALS.

§ 159. Germanic *t* remained, as *tōp*, Goth. *tunpus*, *tooth*; *etan*, Goth. *itan*, *to eat*; *neaht*, Goth. *nahts*, *night*; and similarly *tellan*, *to tell*; *tīd*, *tīma*, *time*; *hatian*, *to hate*; *sittan*, *to sit*; *fōt*, *foot*; *hāt*, *hot*; *sceatt*, *money*, *tribute*.

For the loss of *t* between consonants, see § 144.

§ 160. Germanic *d* (§ 112) and West Germanic *d* (§ 134) generally remained, as *dæg*, Goth. *dags*, *day*; *dohtor*, Goth. *daúhtar*, *daughter*; OE. Goth. *bindan*, *to bind*. *fæder*, Goth. *fadar*, *father*; *biddan*, Goth. *bidjan*, *to pray*; *cwædon*, *they said*; *dēad*, Goth. *dáuþs*, *dead*.

For the unvoicing of *d* to *t* before and after voiceless consonants, see § 140.

§ 161. Germanic *þ* generally remained initially, medially when doubled, and finally, as *þencan*, Goth. *þagkjan*, *to think*; *opþe*, *eþþa*, Goth. *aíþþáu*, *or*; *āþ*, Goth. acc. *áiþ*, *oath*; and similarly *þancian*, *to thank*; *þēof*, *thief*; *þunor*, *thunder*; *moþþe*, *moth*; *smipþe*, *smithy*; *clāþ*, *cloth*; *mūþ*, *mouth*; *tōþ*, *tooth*.

For the voicing of medial *þ* to *ð*, see § 139.

§ 162. Germanic medial *lþ* became *ld*. The *ld* then became extended to the final position by levelling. Examples are: *fealdan*, Goth. *falþan*, *to fold*; *wilde*, Goth. *wilþeis*, *wild*; *wuldor*, Goth. *wulþus*, *glory*. Gen. *goldes* (= Goth. **gulþis*), dat. *golde* (= Goth. *gulþa*), from which a new nom. *gold* for **golþ* (= Goth. *gulþ*) was formed; and similarly *beald*, *bold*; *eald*, *old*; *feld*, *field*.

§ 163. Germanic *pl* generally remained in Anglian, but became *dl* after long vowels in WS., as *nādl* (Anglian *nēpl*), *needle*; *wādl* (Anglian *wēpl*), *poverty*.

§ 164. The combinations *tþ*, *dþ* became *tt*, which were simplified to *t* finally and after consonants, as *bīt(t)* from **bītþ*, older *bīteþ*, *he bites*; *it(t)* from **itþ*, older *iteþ*, *he eats*. *bit(t)* from **bidþ*, older *bideþ*, *he prays*; *bint* from **bindþ*, older *bindeþ*, *he binds*; *gesynto* from **gesundipu*, *health*; *mittȳ* from *mid þȳ*, *when*, *while*.

The combinations *s*, *ss* + *þ* became *st*, as *cīest* from *cīesþ*, older *cīeseþ*, *he chooses*; *hafastu* = *hafas* + *þū*, *hast thou*. *cyst* from older *cysseþ*, *he kisses*.

For the assimilation of *ps*, *pd* to *ss*, *dd*, see § 142; and for the loss of *þ* before *st*, see § 144.

THE SIBILANT **s**.

§ 165. Germanic **s** remained initially, medially in combination with voiceless consonants, and finally, as *sēcan*, Goth. *sōkjan*, *to seek*; *gāst*, OHG. *geist*, *spirit*; and similarly *sād*, *seed*; *sittan*, *to sit*; *slāpan*, *to sleep*; *smæl*, *small*; *sunu*, *son*; *strēam*, *stream*; *assa*, *ass*; *sweostor*, *sister*; *gærs*, *grass*; *gōs*, *goose*; *wæs*, *was*.

For the voicing of **s** to **z** between voiced sounds, see § 139; and for the metathesis of **s**, see § 143.

THE GUTTURALS.

k

§ 166. Germanic **k**, generally written **c** in OE., remained a guttural initially before consonants and before the guttural vowels *ā*, *ō*, *ū*, and their umlauts *æ* (*e*), *ā*, *e*, *ē* (*œ*), *y*, *ȳ*, but became a palatal before the palatal vowels, *æ*, *ē* (*ē*) = Germanic *ā*, *e* (= Germanic *e*), *ē* (= Germanic *ē*); *ea*, *eo*, *io*, from Germanic *a*, *e*, *i* by breaking (§§ 51-3), *ēa*, *ēo*, *īo*, *i*, *ī*, and their umlauts *e*, *ie* (= *i*-umlaut of *ea*, *io*), *īe* (= *i*-umlaut of *ēa*, *īo*), see § 57.

Germanic medial **k** and **kk** remained guttural when originally followed by a guttural vowel, as *bucca*, *he-goat*; *macian* from **makōjan*, *to make*; *sacu*, *strife*; *geoc*, prim. Germanic **jukan*, *yoke*; but became palatal when originally followed by an *i* or *j*, as *bryce* from **brukiz*, *breach*; *sēcan* = Goth. *sōkjan*, *to seek*; *peccan* from **pakjan*, *to cover*.

The guttural and palatal **c** often existed side by side in different forms of the same word, as pret. pl. *curon*, pp. *coren*, beside inf. *cēosan*, *to choose*; *brecan*, *to break*, beside *bricþ* from **brikip*, *he breaks*.

Both the guttural and the palatal **k** were generally written **c** in OE. When **c** was palatal it was often written **ce**, **ci** medially before a following guttural vowel, with **e**, **i** to indicate the palatal nature of the **c**, as *þencean*, *to think*. Examples are :

1. Guttural *c*: *cēlan* from **kōljan*, *to cool*; *cēmban* from **kambjan*, *to comb*; *cynn*, Goth. *kuni*, *race, generation*; *cnēo*, Goth. *kniu*, *knee*; and similarly *camb*, *comb*; *cēpan*, *to keep*; *cōl*, *cool*; *coss*, *kiss*; *cuman*, *to come*; *cyning* *king*; *cȳpan*, *to make known*. *climban*, *to climb*; *cræft*, *craft*; *cwēn*, *queen*. *æcer*, Goth. *akrs*, prim. Germanic **akraz*, *field*; *nacod*, Goth. *naqaps*, *naked*; and similarly *bacan*, *to bake*; *sprecan*, *to speak*; *sticca*, *stick*. *macian* from **makōjan*, *to make*, and similarly *liccian*, *to lick*; *lōcian*, *to look*; *þancian*, *to thank*. *drincan*, *to drink*. *bucc*, O.Icel. *bokkr*, *buck*; *blæc*, prim. Germanic **blakaz*, *black*; and similarly *āc*, *oak*; *bæc*, *back*; *bōc*, *book*; *flocc*, *flock*; *sēoc*, *sick*; *þanc*, *thought*.

2. Palatal *c*: *cēapian*, Goth. *káupōn*, *to trade, traffic*; *cēosan*, Goth. *kiusan*, *to choose*; *cinn*, Goth. *kinnus*, *chin*; and similarly *ceaf*, *chaff*; *cealc*, *chalk*; *ceald*, *cold*; *cealf*, *calf*; *ceorfan*, *to carve, cut*; *cēowan*, *to chew*; *cīese*, *cheese*; *cild*, *child*. *bēc* from **bōkiz*, *books*; *þenc(e)an*, Goth. *þagkjan*, *to think*; and similarly *birce*, *birch*; *flicce*, *flicth*; *þync(e)an*, *to seem*; *stenc*, *smell, odour*.

OE. final *c* became palatal when preceded by *ī*, as *ic*, *I*; *hwelc* from **hwa-lik*, *which*; *pic*, *pitch*; *swelo* from **swa-lik*, *such*.

NOTE.—*cs* was generally written *x*, as *æx* beside older *æces*, *axe*; *rixian* beside *ricsian*, *to rule*.

§ 167. In the oldest period of the language *sc*, like *c* (§ 166), was guttural or palatal, but some time during the OE. period the guttural *sc* became palatal, except in loanwords. It was often written *sce*, *soi* before a following guttural vowel with *e*, *i* to indicate the palatal nature of the *sc*. Examples are: *sc(e)acan*, *to shake*; *scand*, *disgrace*; *scēap*, *sheep*; *scearp*, *sharp*; *soieran*, *to shear*; *scip*, *ship*; *scrūd*, *dress, garment*; *scūr*, *shower*; *scyldig*, *guilty*; *wascan*, *to wash*; *fisc*, *fish*. But *scōl* (Lat. *schola*), *school*; *scinn* (O.Icel. *skinn*), *skin*.

For the metathesis of *sc*, see § 143.

g

§ 168. Germanic **ȝ** became **g** after **ɾ** during the prim. Germanic period (§ 112). **ȝj** (§ 135) and **ȝn** (§ 137) became **gg** in West Germanic. The **gg** from **ȝn** remained guttural in OE., as *dogga*, *dog*; *frogga*, *frog*; but the **gg** from **ȝj** became palatal, and was generally written *cg*, also *ege*, *egi* before a guttural vowel, as pl. *secg(e)as* beside sing. *secg*, *man*, gen. *secges*, dat. *secge*. Germanic **ȝ** remained a spirant in all other positions in the oldest period of OE.

Germanic initial and medial **ȝ** became differentiated in pre-historic OE. into a guttural and a palatal voiced spirant under the same conditions as those by which Germanic **k** became differentiated into a guttural and palatal explosive (§ 166).

The guttural and palatal **ȝ** often existed side by side in different forms of the same word, as pl. *gatu* beside sing. *geat*, *gate*; pret. pl. *guton*, pp. *goten*, beside inf. *gēotan*, *to pour out*.

Initial guttural **ȝ** remained in the oldest period of the language, but had become the voiced explosive **g** before the end of the OE. period. Initial palatal **ȝ** (written **g**) remained a spirant (= the **y** in NE. *yon*) and fell together with Germanic initial **j** (§ 150). This explains why Germanic initial **j** was written **g** in OE. Examples are:—

1. Guttural **ȝ**: *gōd*, Goth. *gōps*, *good*; OE. Goth. *guma*, *man*; *græs*, Goth. *gras*, *grass*; and similarly *gaderian*, *to gather*; *gāt*, *goat*; *gatu*, *gates*; *gōs*, *goose*; *gylden*, *golden*; *grund*, *ground*.

2. Palatal **ȝ**: *geaf*, Goth. *gaf*, *he gave*; *gēotan*, Goth. *giutan*, *to pour out*; *giefan*, Goth. *giban*, *to give*; and similarly *gēafon*, *they gave*; *geat*, *gate*; *geolu*, *yellow*; *gieldan*, *to repay*, *yield*; *giest*, *guest*; *gift*, *marriage gift*.

§ 169. The **g** in the combination **ng** remained guttural or became palatal according as it was originally followed by a guttural vowel or a palatal vowel or **j**. It also remained guttural before consonants:—

1. Guttural **ng**: *bringen*, Goth. *briggan*, *to bring*; *cýning* from **kuninǵaz*, *king*; and similarly *englisc*, *English*; *finger*, *finger*; *singan*, *to sing*; *þing*, *thing*.

2. Palatal **ng**, often written **nge** medially before guttural vowels with *e* to denote the palatal nature of the *g*: *seng(e)an* from **sarngjan*, *to singe*; and similarly, *streng*, *string*; *lengra*, *longer*; *steng*, *pole*.

For the change of **ng** to **ne** before voiceless consonants, see § 140.

§ 170. Medial **ǵ** remained a guttural spirant before original guttural vowels, but became a palatal spirant when originally followed by a palatal vowel or *j*. It also became palatal between OE. palatal vowels:—

1. Guttural **ǵ**: *ēage*, Goth. *áugō*, *eye*; *stīgan*, Goth. *steigan*, *to ascend*; and similarly *dragan*, *to draw*; *dagian* from **daǵōjan*, *to dawn*; *boga*, *bow*; *fugol*, *bird*; *lagu*, *law*; *dagas*, *days*.

2. Palatal **ǵ**, often written **ge** before a following guttural vowel: *bīegan* from **bauǵjan*, *to bend*; *ege*, Goth. *agis*, *fear*; and similarly *eglan*, *to molest*; *hyge*, *mind*. *fægen*, *glad*; *nægel*, *nail*; gen. sing. *dæges*, *of a day*.

For the unvoicing of **ǵ** to **h** (= **χ**), see § 140; and for the loss of **ǵ**, see § 144.

§ 171. Medial **-igi-**, **-ige-** were contracted to **-ī-**, as *īl* beside *igil*, *hedgehog*; *sīpe* from **sigiþe*, *scythe*; *list* beside *ligest*, *thou liest*.

§ 172. When Germanic **ǵ** came to stand finally in OE., it is probable that it became a voiceless spirant (**χ**) just as in Goth. OS. and prehistoric O.Icel., but that the **g** (= **ǵ**) was mostly restored again through the influence of the inflected forms. After liquids and long vowels the restoration of the **g** was merely orthographical, but the further history of the sound in OE. shows that after palatal vowels it was restored in pronunciation as well. The **h** (= **χ**) seldom occurs in early OE., but is common in late OE. especially after liquids and long vowels, as *mearh*, *marrow*, *bealh*, *he became angry*, beside *mearg*, *bealg*; and

similarly *beorh*, *hill*; *burh*, *city*; *sorh*, *sorrow*. *dāh*, *dough*, *plōh*, *plough*, beside *dāg*, *plōg*; and similarly *flēah*, *he flew*; *stāh*, *he ascended*; *genōh*, *enough*; *troh* beside *trog*, *trough*.

For the vocalization of palatal *g*, see § 141.

h, χ.

§ 173. Initial *χ* had become an aspirate before vowels already in prim. Germanic (§ 130). In OE. it also became an aspirate initially before consonants except in the combination *χw*. The spirant remained in the combination *χw* and has been preserved in many Scottish dialects down to the present day. Examples are: *habban*, Goth. *haban*, *to have*; and similarly *hand*, *hand*; *hēafod*, *head*; *hungor*, *hunger*; &c.

hlāf, Goth. *hláifs*, *loaf*, *bread*; and similarly *hnigan*, *to bend down*; *hnutu*, *nut*; *hring*, *ring*; *hladan*, *to load*; *hlid*, *lid*.

hwā, Goth. *was*, *who*; and similarly *hwæl*, *whale*; *hwæte*, *wheat*; *hwil*, *space of time*; *hwit*, *white*.

For the loss of *h* in compounds, see § 144.

§ 174. Medial *χ* (written *h*) remained in OE. before voiceless consonants, and when doubled. It was guttural or palatal according as it was originally followed by a guttural or palatal vowel or *j*, as *brōhte*, Goth. *brāhta*, *he brought*; *dohtor*, Goth. *daúhtar*, *daughter*; and similarly *bohte*, *he bought*; *enieht*, *enicht*, *boy*; *eahta*, *eight*; *pōhte*, *he thought*. *pohha*, *pocket*; *tiohhian*, *to think*, *consider*.

Dat. *dehter* from **dohtri* beside nom. *dohtor*, *daughter*; *hliehhan*, Goth. *hlahjan*, *to laugh*; *liehtan*, Goth. *liuhtjan*, *to give light*; *siehp*, OHG. *sihit*, *he sees*.

For the loss of medial *χ*, see § 144.

§ 175. *χs* became *ks* (written *x*), as *oxa*, Goth. *aúhsa*, *ox*; *siex*, Goth. *saihs*, *six*; *weaxan*, OHG. *wahsan*, *to grow*.

§ 176. Final *χ* (written *h*) remained, as *hēah*, OHG. *hōh*, *high*; *seah*, OHG. *sah*, *he saw*; *purh*, Goth. *paírh*, *through*; and similarly *feoh*, *cattle*, *property*; *scōh*, *shoe*; *sleah*, *slay thou*; *holh*, *hollow*; *furh*, *furrow*.

ACCIDENCE

CHAPTER IX

NOUNS

§ 177. In OE. as in the oldest periods of the other Germanic languages, nouns are divided into two great classes, according as the stem originally ended in a vowel or a consonant. Nouns whose stems originally ended in a vowel belong to the vocalic or so-called strong declension. Those whose stems originally ended in *-n* belong to the weak declension. All other consonantal stems will be put together under the general heading, 'Minor Declensions'. Both the stem- and case-endings of nouns underwent so many changes partly in prim. Germanic and partly in the prehistoric period of OE. that it is rarely possible from an OE. nominative singular alone to determine the original stem of any given noun, because in some classes of nouns not only original case-endings, but also stem-endings regularly disappeared, see §§ 80–8. The only method by which the learner can gain an extensive and accurate knowledge of the declension of nouns is by reading OE. texts and by learning the gender, genitive singular, and nominative plural of nouns as they occur in the course of his reading.

§ 178. OE. nouns have two numbers: singular and plural; three genders: masculine, feminine, and neuter, as in the other old Germanic languages from which the gender of nouns in OE. does not materially differ; five cases: Nominative, Accusative, Genitive, Dative, and Instrumental. The dat. is generally used for the instr. in OE., so that this case is omitted in the paradigms. The vocative is like the nominative. The nom. and acc. singular

of masculine and feminine nouns are alike except in the *ō*- and the *n*-stems. The nom. and acc. plural are always alike. Traces of an old locative occur in what is called the uninflected dat. sing. of *hām*, *home*. In Northumbrian both the declension and gender of nouns fluctuated considerably as compared with the other dialects.

A. THE VOCALIC OR STRONG DECLENSION.

I. THE *a*-DECLENSION.

§ 179. The *a*-declension comprises masculine and neuter nouns only, and corresponds to the Latin and Greek *o*-declension (Lat. masc. *-us*, neut. *-um*; Gr. masc. *-os*, neut. *-ov*), for which reason it is sometimes called the *o*-declension. The *a*-declension is divided into pure *a*-stems, *ja*-stems, and *wa*-stems.

a. PURE *a*-STEMS.

§ 180.

Masculine.

SING.

Nom. Acc.	<i>stān</i> , <i>stone</i>	<i>dæg</i> , <i>day</i>	<i>mearh</i> , <i>horse</i>
Gen.	<i>stānes</i>	<i>dæges</i>	<i>mēares</i>
Dat.	<i>stāne</i>	<i>dæge</i>	<i>mēare</i>

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	<i>stānas</i>	<i>dagas</i>	<i>mēaras</i>
Gen.	<i>stāna</i>	<i>daga</i>	<i>mēara</i>
Dat.	<i>stānum</i>	<i>dagum</i>	<i>mēarum</i>

NOTE — The gen. sing. ended in *-æs* in the oldest period of the language, and in late OE. occasionally in *-as*, *-ys*. The regular nom. pl. ending would be *-e* (§ 86); the *-as* is probably a prim. OE. shortened pronominal form representing the *-ās* in *pās*, *these* (§ 310), just as prim. Germanic had the pronominal ending of the gen. sing. from the simple demonstrative pronoun, which accounts for the preservation of the final *-s* in both cases. For a similar pronominal ending of the nom. pl. of these stems, cp. Latin *lupī*, Gr. *λύκοι* with *-ī*, *-oi* = OE. *-ā* in *pā*, and Goth. *-ái* in *pái* (§ 309). For other suggested explanations of the OE. *-as*, see *OE. Grammar*, § 334. In late OE. the dat. pl. ended in *-un*, *-on*, *-an* (§ 153).

§ 181. Like *stān* are declined by far the greater majority of monosyllabic *a*-stems, as *ǣl*, *eel*; *āþ*, *oath*; *bār*, *boar*; *bāt*, *boat*; *bēam*, *tree*; *beard*, *beard*; *bolt*, *bolt*; *camb*, *comb*; *cēap*, *price*; *clāþ*, *cloth*; *clūt*, *patch*; *cocc*, *cock*; *cræft*, *skill*; *dōm*, *doom*; *earm*, *arm*; *eorl*, *nobleman*; *fisc*, *fish*; *fox*, *fox*; *gāst*, *spirit*; *geard*, *yard*; *hām*, *home*; *hlāf*, *loaf*; *hring*, *ring*; *hund*, *dog*; *mōr*, *moor*; *mūþ*, *mouth*; *pott*, *pot*; *rāp*, *rope*; *rūm*, *room*; *strēam*, *stream*; *pēof*, *thief*; *weall*, *wall*; *weg*, *way*.

§ 182. Like *dæg* are declined *hwæl*, *whale*; *pæþ*, *path*; *stæf*, *staff*, see §§ 29-30; and *mæg*, *kinsman*, pl. *māgas* (§ 45) beside *māgas* with *ǣ* from the singular.

Like *mearh* are declined *ealh*, *temple*; *eolh*, *elk*; *fearh*, *pig*, *boar*; *healh*, *corner*; *sealh*, *willow*; *seolh*, *seal*; *wealh*, *foreigner*, see § 76. *scōh*, *shoe*, gen. *scōs*, dat. *scō*; pl. *scōs*, gen. *scōna* with *-na* after the analogy of *n*-stems (§ 247), dat. *scōm*, *scōum* (§ 68); and similarly *slōh* (also fem. and neut.), *slough*, *mire*; *eoh* (also neut.), *horse*.

§ 183. SING.

Nom. Acc.	<i>cyning</i> , <i>king</i>	<i>engel</i> , <i>angel</i>	<i>fugol</i> , <i>bird</i>	<i>heofon</i> , <i>heaven</i>
Gen.	<i>cyninges</i>	<i>engles</i>	<i>fugles</i>	<i>heofones</i>
Dat.	<i>cyninge</i>	<i>engle</i>	<i>fugle</i>	<i>heofone</i>

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	<i>cyningas</i>	<i>englas</i>	<i>fuglas</i>	<i>heofonas</i>
Gen.	<i>cyninga</i>	<i>engla</i>	<i>fugla</i>	<i>heofona</i>
Dat.	<i>cyningum</i>	<i>englum</i>	<i>fuglum</i>	<i>heofonum</i>

On the retention or loss of the medial vowel in the inflected forms of dissyllabic words, see §§ 96-8; and on pl. forms like *heofenas* beside *heofonas*, see § 100.

§ 184. Like *cyning* are declined *æcer*, *field*; *hærfest*, *autumn*; *hengest*, *horse*; &c.; and derivative nouns ending in *-ap* (*-op*), *-dōm*, *-els*, *-hād*, and in *-ing*, *-ling* with concrete

meaning, as *drohtaþ*, *way of life*; *fiscop*, *fishing*; *cynedōm*, *kingdom*; *fætels*, *tub*; *cildhād*, *childhood*; *hāring*, *herring*; *fēorþling*, *farthing*.

§ 185. Like *engel* are declined *angel*, *fish-hook*; *bealdor*, *prince*; *blōstm*, *blossom*; *bōsm*, *bosom*; *brēmel*, *bramble*; *dēofol*, *devil*; *dryhten*, *lord*; *ealdor*, *prince*; *finger*, *finger*; *hleahtor*, *laughter*; *māþum*, *treasure*; *morgen*, *morning*; *þȳmel*, *thimble*.

§ 186. Like *fugol* are declined *botm*, *bottom*; *fæþm*, *embrace*; *hæg(e)l*, *hagol*, *hail*; *ofen*, *oven*; *nægl*, *nail*; *reg(e)n*, *rain*; *peg(e)n*, *thane*.

§ 187. Like *heofon* are declined *bydel*, *beadle*; *bulluc*, *bullock*; *cradol*, *cradle*; *eofor*, *boar*; *hafoc*, *heafuc*, *hawk*; *hamor*, *hammer*; *heorot*, *hart*; *mattuc*, *mattock*; *metod*, *Creator*; *pearroc*, *park*; *rodor*, *sky*; *sadol*, *saddle*; *þunor*, *thunder*.

§ 188.

Neuter.

SING.

Nom. Acc.	word , <i>word</i>	hof , <i>dwelling</i>	fæt , <i>vessel</i>
Gen.	wordes	hofes	fætes
Dat.	worde	hofe	fæte

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	word	hofu , -o	fatu , -o
Gen.	worda	hofa	fata
Dat.	wordum	hofum	fatum

The inflexion of the neuter *a*-stems only differs from the masculine in the nom. and acc. plural which in prim. Germanic ended in *-ō*. The *-ō* became *-u* in prehistoric O.E., and then disappeared after long stem-syllables (§ 85. 1). In the nouns with short stem-syllables the *-u* became *-o* at an early period, and then in late OE. *-a*.

§ 189. Like *word* are declined a large number of monosyllables with long stem, as *bān*, *bone*; *bearn*, *child*; *bēor*,

beer; *blōd*, *blood*; *brēost*, *breast*; *corn*, *corn*; *dēor*, *wild animal*; *fām*, *foam*; *fleax*, *flax*; *folc*, *folk*; *gēar*, *year*; *gearn*, *yarn*; *gold*, *gold*; *hors*, *horse*; *hūs*, *house*; *is*, *ice*; *land*, *land*; *lēaf*, *leaf*; *līn*, *flax*, *linen*; *morþ*, *murder*; *nest*, *nest*; *sār*, *pain*; *scēap*, *sheep*; *sweord*, *sword*; *þing*, *thing*; *weorc*, *work*; *wif*, *woman*. And similarly words with a prefix, as *behāt*, *promise*.

§ 190. Like *hof* are declined *broþ*, *broth*; *ceaf*, *chaff*; *col*, *coal*; *dor*, *door*; *geoc*, *yoke*; *god*, *god* (*heathen*); *hol*, *hole*; *loc*, *lock*; and similarly words with a prefix, as *bebod*, *gebod*, *command*. *geat* (§ 56), *gate*, pl. *gatu* beside *geatu* with *ea* from the singular. On plurals like *cliofu*, *cliffs*, *gebeodu*, *prayers*, beside *clifu*, *gebedu*, see § 59.

§ 191. Like *fæt* are declined *bæc*, *back*; *bæp*, *bath*; *bræs*, *brass*; *dæl*, *dale*; *gærs*, older *græs*, *grass*; *glæs*, *glass*; *sæp*, *sap*; *þæc*, *thatch*, *roof*; *wæl*, *slaughter*; &c. See §§ 29-30.

§ 192. *flāh*, *fraud*, gen. *flās*, dat. *flā*; *þēoh*, *thigh*, gen. *þēos*, dat. *þēo*, pl. *þēoh*, gen. *þēona* with *-na* after the analogy of the *n*-stems (§ 253); *holh*, *hollow*, *hole*, gen. *hōles*, dat. *hōle*, pl. *holh*, see § 74. *feoh*, *cattle*, gen. *fēos*, dat. *fēo* (originally *u*-stem).

§ 193. SING.

Nom. Acc.	<i>tungol</i> , <i>star</i>	<i>wæter</i> , <i>water</i>	<i>hēafod</i> , <i>head</i>
Gen.	<i>tungles</i>	<i>wāteres</i>	<i>hēafdes</i>
Dat.	<i>tungle</i>	<i>wātero</i>	<i>hēafde</i>

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	<i>tungol</i>	<i>wæter</i>	<i>hēafodu</i>
Gen.	<i>tungla</i>	<i>wātera</i>	<i>hēafda</i>
Dat.	<i>tunglum</i>	<i>wāterum</i>	<i>hēafdum</i>

On the loss or retention of the medial vowel in the inflected forms, see §§ 97-8; and on the loss or retention of the *-u* in the plural, see § 85. 1. In the later period of the language there was great fluctuation in the formation of the plural and in the loss or retention of the medial vowel, as nom. acc. pl. *tunglu*,

wæt(e)ru, **hēafdu** beside older **tungol**, **wæter**, **hēafodu** ; gen. sing. **wætres** beside older **wæteres**.

§ 194. Like **tungol** are declined **ātor**, *poison* ; **bēacen**, *beacon* ; **fōdor**, *fodder* ; **morþor**, *murder* ; **spātl**, *saliva* ; **tācen**, *token* ; **wāpen**, *weapon* ; **wuldor**, *glory* ; **wundor**, *wonder*.

§ 195. Like **wæter** are declined **brægen**, *brain* ; **gamen**, *game, sport* ; **mægen**, *strength* ; **reced**, *house, hall* ; **weder**, *weather* ; **weorod**, **werod**, *troop*, pl. **weredu** (§ 100) beside **werod**. **setl**, *seat*, pl. **setlu** beside **setl**.

§ 196. Like **hēafod** are declined **cliwen**, **cliwen**, *ball of thread, clew* ; **mæden**, **mægden**, *maiden* ; **nīeten**, *animal*.

b. ja-STEMS.

§ 197. In the ja-stems it is necessary to distinguish between those stems which were originally long and those which became long by the West Germanic doubling of consonants (§ 135). The **j** caused umlaut of the stem-vowel and then disappeared in the inflected forms except after **r** (§§ 57, 151). When it came to stand finally after the loss of prim. Germanic **-az**, **-an** (§ 84) it became vocalized to **-i** which remained in the oldest period of the language, and then later became **-e** (§ 141) ; cp. **here**, *army*, **ende**, *end*, beside Goth. acc. **hari**, **andi**. The OE. forms with double consonants in the nom. acc. singular are all new formations from the inflected forms. The regular forms would be ***sege**, *man*, ***dyne**, *noise*, neut. ***cyne** (Goth. **kuni**), *race, generation*, instead of **secg**, **dynn**, **cynn**.

Masculine.

§ 198. SING.

Nom. Acc.	secg , <i>man</i>	ende , <i>end</i>
Gen.	secges	endes
Dat.	secge	ende

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	secg(e)as	endas
Gen.	secg(e)a	enda
Dat.	secg(e)um	endum

The masculine *ja*-stems have the same inflexional endings as the pure *a*-stems (§ 180). On the (e) in the plural of *secg*, see § 168.

§ 199. Like *secg* are declined *bridd*, *young bird*; *cnyll*, *knell*; *dyn(n)*, *noise*; *hrycg*, *back, ridge*; *hyll*, *hill*; *mycg*, *midge*; *wecg*, *wedge*. See § 135.

§ 200. The *j* (written *i*, *ig*; also *ige* before a guttural vowel, § 151) remained medially after *r* preceded by a short vowel, as nom. acc. *here*, *army*; gen. *heries*, *herges*, *heriges*; dat. *herie*, *herge*, *herige*; pl. nom. acc. *herias*, *hergas*, *herigas*, *herigeas*; gen. *heria*, *heriga*, *herigea*; dat. *herium*, *herigum*. Forms without *j* also occur occasionally, as gen. *heres*, dat. *here*, pl. *heras*.

§ 201. Like *ende* are declined *esne*, *servant*; *hierde*, *shepherd*; *hwæte*, *wheat*; *læce*, *physician*; *mēce*, *sword*; and the nomina agentis, as *bæcere*, *baker*; *sædere*, *sower*.

§ 202.

Neuter.

SING.

Nom. Acc.	<i>cyn(n)</i> , <i>race</i>	<i>wīte</i> , <i>punishment</i>	<i>wēsten</i> , <i>desert</i>
Gen.	<i>cynnes</i>	<i>wītes</i>	<i>wēstennes</i>
Dat.	<i>cynne</i>	<i>wīte</i>	<i>wēstenne</i>

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	<i>cyn(n)</i>	<i>wītu</i>	<i>wēstennu</i>
Gen.	<i>cynna</i>	<i>wīta</i>	<i>wēstenna</i>
Dat.	<i>cynnum</i>	<i>wītum</i>	<i>wēstennum</i>

The neuter *ja*-stems had the same endings as the masculine except in the nom. acc. plural. The nom. acc. plural ended in prim. Germanic in *-jō* which became *-ju* in prim. OE. The *j* regularly disappeared after causing umlaut of the preceding vowel. And then the *-u* being preceded by a long syllable also disappeared (§ 85. 1). The nom. acc. plural of the originally

short stems is regularly developed from the prim. Germanic form, as *cyn(n)* from **kunjō*. But the -u in the originally long stems and in words containing a suffix is not the preservation of the prim. OE. -u. Such nouns owe their final -u to the analogy of the nom. acc. pl. of short a-stems (§ 85. 1). That forms like *wītu*, *wēstennu* are new formations is proved by the simple fact that from a prim. Germanic point of view these nouns ought to have the same ending in OE. as the fem. nom. singular of the *jō*-stems (§ 221). In late OE. the double consonants in words containing a suffix were generally simplified in the inflected forms, and the medial vowel was also occasionally syncopated, as gen. *wēstenes*, pl. *wēstenu*, beside *wēstnu*.

§ 203. Like *cyn(n)* are declined *bedd*, *bed*; *nebb*, *beak*; *nett*, *net*; *ribb*, *rib*; *witt*, *understanding*. See § 135.

§ 204. Like *wīte* are declined *ærende*, *errand*; *ierfe*, *inheritance*; *ierre*, *anger*; *rīce*, *kingdom*; *stiele*, *steel*; neut. nouns with the prefix *ge-*, as *gefilde*, *plain*; *getimbre*, *building*. *flicce*, *fitch*, *stycce*, *piece*, prim. Germanic **flikkja-*, **stukkja-*.

§ 205. Like *wēsten* are declined neut. derivative nouns ending in -en, -et, as *fæsten(n)*, *fortress*; *sāwet(t)*, *sowing*.

c. wa-STEMS.

§ 206.

Masculine.

SING.

Nom. Acc.	bearu, -o, <i>grove</i>	pēo(w), <i>servant</i>
Gen.	bearwes	peowes
Dat.	bearwe	peowe

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	bearwas	peowas
Gen.	bearwa	peowa
Dat.	bearwum	peowum

In the inflected forms the masc. *wa*-stems have the same endings as the pure *a*-stems (§ 180). The nom. acc. singular

bearu, *pēo* are regularly developed from the prim. Germanic forms **barwaz*, -an, **pewaz*, -an (see §§ 84, 141). After a long vowel the -u from -w regularly disappeared, as in *snā*, *snow*, from **snaiwaz*, -an. At a later period the w of the inflected forms was levelled out into the nom. acc. singular, whence *pēow*, *snāw* beside older *pēo*, *snā*. And then later from *pēow* was often formed a new gen. *pēowes* beside the regular *peowes*. On forms like gen. *bearuwes* beside *bearwes*, see § 102.

§ 207. Like *pēo*, *pēow* are declined *bēaw*, *gadfly*; *dēaw* (also neut.), *dew*; *lārēow*, *teacher*; *lāttēow*, *leader*; *pēaw*, *custom*.

§ 208.

Neuter.

SING.

Nom. Acc.	bealu, -o, <i>evil</i>	cnēo(w), <i>knee</i>
Gen.	bealwes	cneowes
Dat.	bealwe	cneowe

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	bealu, -o	cnēo(w)
Gen.	bealwa	cneowa
Dat.	bealwum	cneowum

The neuter wa-stems have the same endings as the masculine except in the nom. acc. plural. The nom. acc. plural *bealu*, *cnēo* are from older **beal(w)u*, **kne(w)u* (§ 149), whereas the nom. acc. sing. *bealu*, *cnēo* are from older **bealw-*, **knew-* (§ 141). What has been said in § 206 about the history of the w also applies to the neuters. On forms like gen. *bealuwes* beside *bealwes*, see § 102.

§ 209. Like *bealu* are declined *c(w)udu*, *cud*; *teoru*, *tar*; *meolu*, *melu*, *meal*, *flour*; *searu*, *device*; *smeoru*, *fat*.

§ 210. Like *cnēo*, *cnēow* are declined *anclēow*, *ankle*; *bēow*, *barley*; *gehlōw*, *lowing*, *bellowing*; *gehrēow*, *lamentation*; *hlēo(w)*, *protection*, *covering*; *strēa(w)*, *straw*; *trēo(w)*, *tree*.

2. THE \bar{o} -DECLENSION.

§ 211. The \bar{o} -declension contains feminine nouns only and corresponds to the Latin and Greek \bar{a} -declension, for which reason it is sometimes called the \bar{a} -declension. The \bar{o} -declension is divided into pure \bar{o} -stems, $j\bar{o}$ -stems, and $w\bar{o}$ -stems.

a. PURE \bar{o} -STEMS.

§ 212. SING.

Nom.	<i>giefu</i> , -o, <i>gift</i>	<i>ār</i> , <i>honour</i>
Acc.	<i>giefe</i>	<i>āre</i>
Gen.	<i>giefe</i>	<i>āre</i>
Dat.	<i>giefe</i>	<i>āre</i>

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	<i>giefā</i> , -e	<i>āra</i> , -e
Gen.	<i>giefā</i> , (-ena)	<i>āra</i> , (-na, -ena)
Dat.	<i>giefum</i>	<i>ārum</i>

On the loss or retention of the -u in the nom. sing., see § 85. 1.

The normally developed ending of the nom. acc. pl. is -e, which was regularly preserved in the Anglian dialects (§ 86), whereas -a is the usual ending in WS. and Ken. The ending -a in these dialects is due to the analogy of the fem. u-declension (§ 245). After the analogy of words like *duru*, *hand*: pl. *dura*, *handā*, to words like *giefu*, *ār* were formed pl. *giefā*, *āra*. The regular ending of the gen. pl. is -a, but in late OE. the gen. pl. often ended in -(e)na after the analogy of the n-stems (§ 250). Short stems with a often have æ beside a in the acc. gen. and dat. sing., as *læpe*, *ræce*, beside *lape*, *race*.

§ 213. Like *giefu* are declined *caru*, *care*; *daru*, *injury*; *faru*, *journey*; *laðu*, *invitation*; *lufu*, *love*; *racu*, *account*, *narrative*; *sacu*, *strife*; *talū*, *tale*, *number*; *wracu*, *revenge*; &c.

§ 214. Like *ār* are declined a large number of nouns, as

æsp, *aspen-tree*; bær, *bier*; beorc, *birch-tree*; brōd, *brood*; gād, *goad*; glōf, *glove*; heord, *herd*; hwīl, *space of time*; lār, *learning*; mearc, *boundary*; rōd, *cross*; scofl, *shovel*; sorg, *sorrow*; wund, *wound*; &c.

§ 215. SING.

Nom.	firen, <i>crime</i>	sāwol, <i>soul</i>
Acc.	firene	sāwle
Gen.	firene	sāwle
Dat.	firene	sāwle

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	firena, -e	sāwla, -e
Gen.	firena	sāwla
Dat.	firenum	sāwlum

In originally trisyllabic words the final -u regularly disappeared in the nom. sing. when the stem-syllable and the medial syllable were short, but remained when the stem-syllable was long and the medial syllable short (§ 85. 1). Then after the analogy of words like *firen*, the final -u was also dropped in words like *sāwol*. The medial vowel regularly disappeared in the inflected forms after long stems, but remained after short (§§ 97-8). The nouns of this class do not have the ending -(e)na in the gen. plural.

§ 216. Like *firen* are declined *bisen*, *bisn*, *example*; *byden*, *bushel*; *feter*, *fetter*; *feper*, *feather*; *netel*, *nettle*; *spinel*, *spindle*; *stefn*, *voice*.

§ 217. Like *sāwol* are declined *ādī*, *disease*; *ceaster*, *city*, *fortress*; *frōfor* (also masc.), *consolation*; *nēdl*, *needle*; *wōcor*, *increase*, *usury*.

§ 218.	Nom.	strenþu, -o, <i>strength</i>	leornung, <i>learning</i>
	Acc. Gen. Dat.	strengþe	leornunge, -a

The fem. abstract nouns ending in prim. Germanic -īþō (Goth. -īpa, -īda, OHG. -īda) regularly syncopated the medial i (§ 98) and in the oldest period of the language retained the

final -u in the nom. (§ 85. 1). Then at a later period the -u (-o) was often dropped after the analogy of words like *ār* (§ 212). At a still later period the nom. with and without the final -o came to be used for all cases. The abstract nouns in -ung regularly syncopated the final -u in the nom. (§ 85. 1). The ending -a was due to the analogy of the fem. u-declension (§ 245).

§ 219. Like *strengþu* are declined *cȳþþu*, *cȳþ(p)*, *native country*; *fæhþ(u)*, *feud*; *mægþ(u)*, *family, kindred*; *þiefþ(u)*, *theft*; &c.

§ 220. Like *leornung* are decline *æfnung*, *evening*; *lēasung*, *falsehood*; *wēnung*, *hope, expectation*; &c.

b. jō-STEMS.

§ 221. SING.

Nom.	hen(n), <i>hen</i>	<i>gierd, rod</i>
Acc.	henne	<i>gierde</i>
Gen.	henne	<i>gierde</i>
Dat.	henne	<i>gierde</i>

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	henna, -e	<i>gierda, -e</i>
Gen.	henna	<i>gierda</i>
Dat.	hennum	<i>gierdum</i>

It is necessary to distinguish between those stems which were originally long and those which became long by the West Germanic doubling of consonants (§ 135). The j regularly disappeared after causing umlaut of the preceding vowel, and then the -u in the nom. sing. being preceded by a long stem also disappeared (§ 85. 1), so that the endings of the jō-stems are the same as those of the ō-stems except that the gen. pl. never has the ending -(e)na.

§ 222. Like *hen(n)* are declined *bryog*, *bridge*; *cribb*, *crib*; *orycc*, *crutch*; *eog*, *edge*; *hell*, *hell*; *sciell*, *shell*; *secg*, *sword*; *sibb*, *relationship*; *syll*, *threshold*; *synn*, *sin*; *wynn*, *joy*. See § 135.

§ 223. Like *gierd* are declined *æx*, *axe*; *blips*, *bliss*, *bliss*; *hild*, *war*, *battle*; *hind*, *doe*; *nift*, *niece*; *rest*, *rest*; *spræc*, *speech*, *language*; *wylf*, *she-wolf*; &c.

§ 224. SING.

PLUR.

Nom.	<i>byrþen(n)</i> , <i>burden</i>	<i>byrþenna</i> , -e
Acc.	<i>byrþenne</i>	<i>byrþenna</i> , -e
Gen.	<i>byrþenne</i>	<i>byrþenna</i>
Dat.	<i>byrþenne</i>	<i>byrþennum</i>

In originally trisyllabic words the final -u in the nom. sing. also regularly disappeared after the medial syllable which became long by the West Germanic doubling of consonants (§§ 85. 1, 135). The nouns ending in -en(n) sometimes took -u again in the nom. sing. after the analogy of the short *ō*-stems (§ 212). In late OE. the double consonants were often simplified in the inflected forms.

§ 225. Like *byrþen(n)* are declined the fem. nouns ending in -en, -en(n), and -es(s), -nes(s), as *biren*, *she-bear*; *fyxen*, *she-fox*; *gyden*, *goddess*; *ræden(n)*, *rule*, *arrangement*; *hūs-ræden(n)*, *household*; *hægtes(s)*, *witch*; *cōlnes(s)*, *coolness*; *prīnes(s)*, *trinity*.

c. wō-STEMS.

§ 226. SING.

Nom.	<i>beadu</i> , -o, <i>battle</i>	<i>mæd</i> , <i>meadow</i>
Acc. Gen. Dat.	<i>beadwe</i>	<i>mædwe</i>

PLUR. .

Nom. Acc.	<i>beadwa</i> , -e	<i>mædwa</i> , -e
Gen.	<i>beadwa</i>	<i>mædwa</i>
Dat.	<i>beadwum</i>	<i>mædwum</i>

In the inflected forms the wō-stems had the same endings as the *ō*-stems except that they never had the ending -(e)na in the gen. plural. In the nom. sing. the Germanic ending -wō regularly became -wu, then the w disappeared before the -u

(§ 144). The -u remained after consonants preceded by an original short vowel, but disappeared after consonants preceded by a long vowel (§ 85. 1). When the -u was preceded by a it combined with it to form a diphthong, as *clēa* from **cla(w)u*, *claw*, *prēa* from **pra(w)u*, *threat* (§ 69), pl. nom. acc. *clēa*, dat. *clēam* from **cla(w)um*; beside the regular nom. sing. forms *clēa*, *prēa*, new nominatives *clawu*, *prawu* were made from the stem-form of the oblique cases. The final -u from older -w also regularly disappeared after long vowels and diphthongs (§ 149), but the w was restored again from the inflected forms already in the oldest period of the language, as *hrēow*, *repentance*; *stōw*, *place*; *trēow*, *faith*, *truth*. On forms like gen. *beaduwe* beside *beadwe*, see § 102.

§ 227. Like *beadu* are declined *sceadu*, *shadow*; *sinu*, *sionu*, *sinew*; and the plurals *frætwa*, -e, *ornaments*; *geatwa*, -e, *armaments*, *armour*.

§ 228. Like *mæd* are declined *blōd(es)lās*, *blood-letting*, *bleeding*; *lās*, *pasture*.

3. FEMININE ABSTRACT NOUNS IN -īn.

§ 229. This declension comprises the fem. abstract nouns formed from adjectives, as *brædu*, *breadth*: *brād*, *broad*; *strengu*, *strength*: *strang*, *strong*; Goth. *managei*, *multitude*: *manags*, *many*. The nouns of this category had originally the stem-ending -īn and were declined according to the weak declension as in Gothic *managei*, gen. *manageins*. The -ī, -īn- regularly became -i, -in- in prehistoric OE. (§ 85. 3), and then the i caused umlaut of the stem-vowel. This umlaut of the stem-vowel is the only characteristic feature preserved in the historic period of the language of the nouns belonging to this class. In the prehistoric period of OE. this class of nouns was remodelled on analogy with the short *ō*-stems (§ 212), so that the nom. came to end in -u, later -o, and the oblique cases of the singular in -e. At a later period the new nominative came to be used for all forms

of the singular and for the nom. acc. plural. Few nouns belonging to this class have a plural.

SING.		PLUR.
Nom.	strengu, -o, <i>strength</i>	strenga, -e ; -u, -o
Acc.	strengē, -u, -o	„
Gen.	„	strenga
Dat.	„	strengum

§ 230. Like *strengu* are declined *bieldu*, *boldness* ; *bierhtu*, *brightness* ; *engu*, *narrowness* ; *fyllu*, *fullness* ; *hælu*, *health* ; *hætu*, *heat* ; *menigu*, *mengu*, *multitude* ; *piestru*, *darkness* ; &c.

4. THE i-DECLENSION.

§ 231. The i-declension comprises masculine, feminine, and neuter nouns, and corresponds to the Latin and Greek i-declension (nom. masc. and fem. Lat. -is, Gr. -ις ; acc. -im, -ιν ; neut. nom. acc. -e, -ι). The masculine and feminine i-stems were originally declined alike in the sing. and plural as in Latin and Greek, but with the exception of a few plurals, chiefly names of peoples, the masculines came to be inflected after the analogy of the a-stems (§ 180) in early OE.

a. Masculine.

§ 232. SING.

Nom. Acc.	wine, <i>friend</i>	giest, <i>guest</i>
Gen.	wines	giestes
Dat.	wine	gieste

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	wine, -as	giestas
Gen.	wina, wini(ge)a	giesta
Dat.	winum	giestum

The Germanic endings -iz, -in of the nom. and acc. sing. regularly became -i in prehistoric OE. (§ 84). The -i caused umlaut of the stem-vowel and then disappeared after long stems,

but remained after short stems and later became *-e*. The regular ending of the gen. sing. would be *-e* (§ 90), the *-es* is from the *a*-stems. The dat. sing. ended in *-i* (later *-e*) in the oldest OE. and corresponded to the Germanic ending *-ī* (§ 85. 3). The prim. Germanic nom. pl. ending *-īz* regularly became *-i*, later *-e* (§ 87), which remained in the oldest period of the language. But at an early period the nom. pl. was re-formed after the analogy of the masc. *a*-stems and then later the old ending *-e* was only preserved in a few plurals, especially in names of peoples, as *Dene*, *Danes*; *Engle*, *the English*; *Mierce* (gen. *Miercna*), *Mercians*; *Norphymbre*, *Northumbrians*; *Seaxe* (gen. *Seaxna*), *Saxons*; *ielde*, *men*; *ielfe*, *elves*; *liode*, *lōode*, *people*; *stede*, *places*. The Germanic gen. pl. ending *-(i)ǝn* regularly became *-(i)ja* (§ 88. 2) which has only been preserved in a few words with short stems, as *Deni(ge)a*, *wini(ge)a*. The ending *-a* is from the gen. pl. of the *a*- and consonantal stems. The dat. pl. would regularly have ended in *-im*, but it had *-um* from the other classes of nouns. Apart from the few words mentioned above, the long *i*-stems have the same endings as the masc. *a*-stems and are only distinguishable from them by the presence or absence of umlaut.

§ 233. Like *wine* are declined a large number of nouns, as *bile*, *beak*, *bill*; *byre*, *son*; *ciele*, *cold*; *dene*, *valley*; *dyne*, *din*; *hæle* (orig. cons. stem, see § 261), *man*, *hero*; *hege*, *hedge*; *hype*, *hip*; *mere* (orig. neut.), *lake*, *pool*; *ryge*, *rye*; *sele*, *hall*; masc. verbal abstract nouns, as *bite*, *bite*; *cwide*, *saying*, *speech*; *cyme*, *advent*; *cyre*, *choice*; *flyge*, *flight*; *ryne*, *course*; *stige*, *ascent*; abstract nouns ending in *-scipe*, as *bēorscipe*, *feast*; *gōdscipe*, *goodness*; and a number of nouns originally belonging to the neut. *os*-, *es*-declension (§ 266), as *bere*, *barley*; *ege*, *fear*; *hete*, *hate*; *sige*, *victory*. *hyse* (pl. *hys(s)as*), *youth*, *son*; *ile* (pl. *il(1)as*), *sole of the foot*; *mete* (pl. *mettas*), *food*, form their pl. after the analogy of the *ja*-stems (§ 198).

§ 234. Like *giest* are declined a large number of nouns, as *æsc*, *ash-tree*; *dæl*, *part*; *ent*, *giant*; *fierst*, *period of time*;

hyht, *hope*; lieg, *flame*; lyft (also fem.), *air*; mǣw, *sea-gull*; sǣl (also fem.), *time*; smīec, *smoke*; streng, *string*; þyrs, *giant*; wyrm, *worm*; masc. verbal abstract nouns, as drenc, *drink*; flyht, *flight*; hliep, *leap*; hwyrft, *turning*, circuil; slieht, *slaughter*.

§ 235. sǣ, prim. Germanic *saiwiz, *sea*, gen. sǣs, dat. sǣ, pl. nom. acc. sǣs, gen. *sǣwa, dat. sǣm beside the new formation sǣwum; also fem. gen. dat. sǣ beside sǣwe; drȳ, *magician*, gen. drȳs, dat. drȳ, pl. nom. acc. drȳas, dat. drȳum. See § 68.

b. Feminine.

§ 236. SING.

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	cwēn, <i>queen</i>	cwēne, -a
Gen.	cwēne	cwēna
Dat.	cwēne	cwēnum

The nom. acc. and gen. singular were regularly developed from the corresponding prim. Germanic forms *kwāniz, *kwānin, *kwānaiz. The dat. sing. had -e after the analogy of the ō-stems, the regular form would have been *cwēn (see § 85. 3). The nom. pl. cwēne regularly had -e from prim. Germanic -iz (§ 87). The gen. and dat. pl. were new formations as in the masc. i-stems. In early Nth., and then later in WS. and Ken., the acc. sing. often had -e after the analogy of the ō-stems; and in like manner the nom. acc. pl. often had -a already in early OE. All the fem. short i-stems went over into the ō-declension in the prehistoric period of the language.

§ 237. Like cwēn are declined bēn, *prayer*; benc, *bench*; brȳd, *bride*; cȳf, *tub*; fierd, *army*; fȳst, *fist*; glēd, *live coal*; hȳd, *hide*, *skin*; hȳf, *hive*; tīd, *time*; wǣd, *garment*; wēn, *hope*; wyrt, *vegetable*, *herb*; ȳst, *storm*; and fem. verbal abstract nouns, as ǣht, *property*; cyst, *choice*; dǣd, *deed*; ēst, *favour*; hǣs, *command*; meaht, miht, *might*, *power*; scyld, *guilt*; spēd, *success*; wist, *food*, *sustenance*; wyrd, *fate*.

NOTE.—*ǣ*, prim. Germanic **aiwiz*, *divine law*, generally remains uninflected in the sing. and in the nom. acc. pl., but beside the gen. dat. sing. *ǣ* there also exists *ǣwe* from which a new nom. *ǣw* was formed.

§ 238. A certain number of nouns, which originally belonged to the fem. *i*-stems, partly or entirely became neuter and were then declined like *cynn* (§ 202) or *hof* (§ 188) in the singular, and like *hof* in the plural. Such nouns are: *fulwiht*, *fulluht*, *baptism*; *grīn*, *snare*, *noose*; *oferhygd*, *pride*; *wiht*, *wuht*, *thing*, *creature*; nouns with the prefix *ge-*, as *gebyrd*, *birth*; *gecynd*, *nature*, *kind*; *gehygd*, *mind*; *gemynd*, *memory*; *gesceaft*, *creation*; *geþeaht*, *thought*; *geþyld*, *patience*; *gewyrht*, *merit*, *desert*; pl. *gedryhtu*, *elements*; *giftu*, *gifts*. In late OE. other fem. *i*-stems also sometimes took the neut. plural ending *-u*, *-o*.

c. Neuter.

§ 239. SING.

PLUR.

Nom. Acc. *spere*, *spear*

speru, *-o*

Gen. *speres*

spera

Dat. *spere*

sperum

The neuter *i*-stems had originally the same endings as the masculine except in the nom. acc. sing. and plural. The nom. acc. sing. ended in *-i* which regularly disappeared after long stems, but remained after short stems, and then later became *-e* (§ 83). The nom. acc. pl. ended in *-ī* which would regularly have become *-i*, later *-e*, after short stems, and disappeared after long stems. The nom. acc. pl. ending *-u* (*-o*) was due to the influence of the short neut. *a*-stems. The endings of the other cases are of the same origin as those of the masc. short *i*-stems. The regular form of the nom. acc. sing. would be **spire* (§ 21. 2) if *spere* originally belonged to the neuter *i*-declension.

§ 240. Like *spere* are declined *ofdæle*, *downward slope*, *descent*; *oferslege*, *lintel*; *orlege*, *fate*; *sife*, *sieve*. All these nouns probably belonged originally to the *os-*, *es*-declension (§ 266).

A certain number of neuter nouns which originally belonged

partly to the neut. *ja*-declension (§ 202), and partly to the *os*-, *es*-declension, are declined like *spere*, except that the stem-syllable being long the final *-e* disappeared in the nom. acc. singular. Such nouns are: *flāsc*, *flesh*; *flēs*, *fleece*; *hāl*, *health*; *hilt* (also masc.), *hilt*; *lān*, *loan*; *sweng*, *blow*; *gefēg*, *joining*, *joint*; *gegrynd*, *plot of ground*; *gehlȳd*, *noise*; *genyht*, *sufficiency*; *geresp*, *blame*; *gewēd*, *fury*, *madness*; *geswinc*, *labour*, *affliction*.

5. THE *u*-DECLENSION.

§ 241. The *u*-declension comprises masculine and feminine nouns, and corresponds to the Latin and Greek *u*-declension (Lat. *-us*, Gr. *-υς*; acc. *-um*, *-υν*). A large number of the masc. and fem. *u*-stems passed over entirely into the *a*- and *ō*-declensions respectively in the prehistoric period of the language, and the other masc. and fem. nouns ending in a consonant have the case-endings of the *a*- and *o*-declensions beside the regular case-endings, especially in the gen. sing. and in the plural. During the OE. period the *-u* (*-o*) of the nom. acc. sing. was often extended to the dat. sing. and nom. acc. pl. in the short stems; and likewise the *-a* of the gen. and dat. sing. to the nom. acc. And in late OE. the short stems also often formed their gen. sing. and nom. acc. pl. after the analogy of the *a*-stems. On the loss or retention of *-u* (*-o*) in the nom. acc. singular, see § 83.

a. Masculine.

§ 242. SING.

Nom. Acc.	<i>sunu</i> , <i>-o</i> , <i>son</i>	<i>feld</i> , <i>field</i>
Gen.	<i>sunā</i>	<i>felda</i>
Dat.	<i>sunā</i>	<i>felda</i>

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	<i>sunā</i>	<i>felda</i>
Gen.	<i>sunā</i>	<i>felda</i>
Dat.	<i>sunum</i>	<i>feldum</i>

§ 243. Like *sunu* are declined *bregu*, *prince*, *ruler*; *heoru*, *sword*; *lagu*, *sea*, *flood*; *magu*, *son*, *man*; *medu*, *meodu* (gen. *meda* beside *medwes*), *mead*; *sidu*, *custom*; *spitu*, *spit*; *wudu*, *wood*.

§ 244. Like *feld* are declined *eard*, *native country*; *ford*, *ford*; *gār*, *spear*; *hād*, *rank*, *order*; *hearg*, *temple*; *sēap*, *pit*, *spring*; *weald*, *forest*; *sumor*, *summer*; *æppel* (gen. *æp(p)les*, pl. *ap(p)la* beside *æp(p)las*, and neut. *ap(p)lu*), *apple*; *winter* (pl. neut. *wintru* beside *winter*), *winter*.

b. Feminine.

§ 245. SING.

Nom. Acc.	<i>duru</i> , -o, <i>door</i>	<i>hand</i> , <i>hand</i>
Gen.	<i>dura</i>	<i>handa</i>
Dat.	<i>dura</i>	<i>handa</i>

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	<i>dura</i>	<i>handa</i>
Gen.	<i>dura</i>	<i>handa</i>
Dat.	<i>durum</i>	<i>handum</i>

Beside the regular gen. and dat. sing. *dura*, there also occurs *dyre*, *dyru* with i-umlaut after the analogy of the i-declension. And in the long stems the nom. acc. sing. was sometimes used for the gen. and dative. To the short stems also belongs *nosu*, *nose*; and to the long stems: *cweorn* (also *ō*-declension), *hand-mill*; *flōr* (also masc.), *floor*; and originally also *cin(n)*, Goth. *kinnus*, *chin*.

B. THE WEAK DECLENSION (N-STEMS).

§ 246. The weak declension comprises masculine, feminine, and neuter nouns, and corresponds to the Latin and Greek declension of n-stems, as Lat. nom. *homō* (OE. *guma*), *man*, *sermō*, *discourse*, acc. *homin-em* (OE. *guman*), *sermōn-em*; Gr. nom. ποιμήν, *shepherd*, ἡγεμών, *leader*, acc. ποιμέν-α, ἡγεμόν-α.

a. Masculine.

§ 247. SING.

Nom.	guma, <i>man</i>	frēa, <i>lord</i>
Acc.	guman	frēan
Gen.	guman	frēan
Dat.	guman	frēan

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	guman	frēan
Gen.	gumena	frēana
Dat.	gumum	frēa(u)m

§ 248. Like *guma* are declined a large number of nouns, as *ārendra*, *messenger*; *apa*, *ape*; *assa*, *ass*; *bana*, *slayer*; *bera*, *bear*; *boga*, *bow*; *bucca*, *he-goat*; *cnapa*, *boy*; *cruma*, *crumb*; *dogga*, *dog*; *folā*, *foal*; *frogga*, *frog*; *gealga*, *gallows*; *haca*, *hook*; *hara*, *hare*; *hunta*, *hunter*; *mōna*, *moon*; *nama*, *name*; *nefa* (dat. pl. also *nefenum*), *nephew*; *oxa* (pl. *œxen*, *exen*, beside *oxan*, dat. also *oxnum*), *ox*; *plega*, *play*; *slaga*, *slayer*; *spearwa*, *sparrow*; *pūma*, *thumb*; *wita*, *sage*, *wise man*; *wyrhta*, *worker*.

§ 249. Like *frēa* are declined *flēa*, *flea*; *gefā*, *foe*; (*ge*)*fēa*, *joy*; *lēo*, *lion*; *rā*, *roe*; *twēo*, *doubt*; *wēa*, *woe*; and the pl. *Swēon*, *Swedes*. See § 68.

b. Feminine.

§ 250. SING.

Nom.	tunge, <i>tongue</i>	bēo, <i>bee</i>
Acc.	tungan	bēon
Gen.	tungan	bēon
Dat.	tungan	bēon

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	tungan	bēon
Gen.	tungena	bēona
Dat.	tungum	bēom

§ 251. Like *tunge* are declined a large number of nouns, as *æsce*, *inquiry*; *asse*, *she-ass*; *asce*, *ash*, *cinders*; *bēce*, *beech-tree*; *blædre*, *bladder*; *burne*, *stream*, *brook*; *cēace*, *cheek*, *jaw*; *cirice*, *church*; *crāwe*, *crow*; *cuppe*, *cup*; *cwene*, *woman*; *fipele*, *fiddle*; *heorte*, *heart*; *hlæfdige*, *lady*; *meowle*, *maiden*; *molde*, *earth*; *moppe*, *moth*; *pipe*, *pipe*; *sunne*, *sun*; *swealwe*, *swallow*; *wicce*, *witch*; *wuduwe*, *widow*; and nomina agentis ending in *-estre*, as *hlēapestre*, *dancer*; *lārestre*, *teacher*; *sangestre*, *songstress*.

The fem. nouns with short stems began to form their nom. sing. after the analogy of the *ō*-stems (§ 212) already in early OE., as *cinu*, *chink*, *spadu*, *spade*, *wicu* (*wucu*), *week*, beside *cine*, *spade*, *wice* (*wuce*).

§ 252. Like *bēo* are declined *cēo*, *jackdaw*, *chough*; *flā*, *arrow*; *sēo*, *pupil of the eye*; *slā*, *slāh*, *sloe*; *tā*, *toe*; *pō*, *clay*. See § 68.

c. Neuter.

§ 253. SING.		PLUR.
Nom. Acc.	<i>ēage</i> , <i>eye</i>	<i>ēagan</i>
Gen.	<i>ēagan</i>	<i>ēagena</i>
Dat.	<i>ēagan</i>	<i>ēagum</i>

§ 254. Like *ēage* are only declined *ēare*, *ear*; *wange* (also with strong forms), *cheek*.

C. MINOR DECLENSIONS.

I. MONOSYLLABIC CONSONANT STEMS.

a. Masculine.

§ 255. SING.		PLUR.
Nom. Acc.	<i>fōt</i> , <i>foot</i>	<i>fēt</i>
Gen.	<i>fōtes</i>	<i>fōta</i>
Dat.	<i>fēt</i>	<i>fōtum</i>

§ 256. Like *fōt* are declined *tōp*, *tooth*; *man(n)* (beside *manna*, acc. *mannan*, *n*-declension), *man*; and *wifman* *wimman*, *woman*.

b. Feminine.

§ 257. SING.

Nom. Acc.	bōc, <i>book</i>	hnutu, <i>nut</i>
Gen.	bēc; bōce	*hnyte; hnute
Dat.	bēc	hnyte

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	bēc	hnyte
Gen.	bōca	hnuta
Dat.	bōcum	hnutum

In nouns belonging to this class the stem-vowels *ā*, *ō*, *u*, *ū* were regularly mutated to *æ*, *ē* (Nth. *œ*), *y*, *ȳ* in the gen. dat. sing. and nom. acc. plural. In nearly all the nouns belonging to this class, beside the gen. sing. with umlaut there exists a form ending in *-e* without umlaut which was made after the analogy of the *ō*-stems (§ 212). In late OE. the dat. sing. was often like the nominative. *hnutu* is the original acc. (§ 84).

§ 258. Like *bōc* are declined *āc*, *oak*; *brōc*, *trousers*; *burg*, *city* (gen. dat. sing. and nom. acc. pl. *byrig* beside *byrg* (§ 102), also declined like *cwēn* (§ 236), but without *i*-umlaut); *cū*, *cow* (also gen. sing. *cūe*, *cūs*; nom. acc. pl. *cȳ*, *cȳe*, gen. *cūa*, *cūna*, *cȳna*); *dung*, *prison*; *gāt*, *goat*; *gōs*, *goose*; *grūt*, *coarse meal*, *groats*; *lūs*, *louse*; *meol(u)c*, *milk*; *mūs*, *mouse*; *neaht*, *niht*, *night* (also gen. dat. sing. *nihte*; adv. gen. *nihtes*, *ānes nihtes*, *at night*, *by night*, formed after the analogy of *dæg*es); *turf*, *turf*; *furh*, *furrow* (gen. sing. *fūre* beside *fyrh*, pl. gen. *fūra*, dat. *fūrum*, § 74); *sulh*, *plough* (gen. sing. *sūles* on analogy with *a*-stems, pl. gen. *sūla*, dat. *sūlum*); *prūh*, *trough* (dat. pl. *prūm*, § 144); *wlōh*, *fringe*.

§ 259. Like *hnutu* are declined *hnitu*, *nit*; *studu*, *stupu*, *pillar*.

c. Neuter.

§ 260. The only remnant of this class is *scrūd*, *garment*, dat. *scrȳd*; gen. *scrūdes* and late OE. dat. *scrūde* were formed

after the analogy of the neut. *a*-stems (§ 188), and also the pl. nom. acc. *scrūd*, gen. *scrūda*, dat. *scrūdum*.

2. STEMS IN -þ.

§ 261. Of the nouns which originally belonged to this class only four have been preserved: masc. *hæleþ*, *hero*, *man*, *mōnaþ*, *month*; fem. *mæg(e)þ*, *maiden*; neut. *ealu*, *ale*. They were all originally neut. nouns ending in -t which regularly disappeared finally in prim. Germanic in the nom. acc. sing. (§ 80. 2). The old nom. acc. sing. was preserved in *hæle* which passed over into the i-declension, and in *ealu*. In *hæleþ*, *mōnaþ*, and *mæg(e)þ* the þ of the inflected forms was levelled out into the nom. acc. singular. The gen. and dat. sing. of *hæleþ* and *mōnaþ* were formed on analogy with the *a*-declension (§ 183); and beside the nom. acc. pl. *hæleþ*, *mōnaþ*, there also exist *hæleþas*, *mōn(e)þas*. Those forms which did not originally have umlaut have been generalized in OE. They are declined as follows:—

SING.

Nom. Acc.	<i>hæleþ</i>	<i>mōnaþ</i>	<i>mæg(e)þ</i>	<i>ealu</i>
Gen.	<i>hæleþes</i>	<i>mōn(e)þes</i>	<i>mæg(e)þ</i>	<i>ealoþ</i>
Dat.	<i>hæleþe</i>	<i>mōn(e)þe</i>	<i>mæg(e)þ</i>	<i>ealoþ</i>

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	<i>hæleþ</i>	<i>mōnaþ</i>	<i>mæg(e)þ</i>	
Gen.	<i>hæleþa</i>	<i>mōn(e)þa</i>	<i>mæg(e)þa</i>	<i>ealeþa</i>
Dat.	<i>hæleþum</i>	<i>mōn(e)þum</i>	<i>mæg(e)þum</i>	

3. STEMS IN -r.

§ 262. To this class belong the nouns of relationship: *fæder*, *father*; *brōpor*, *brother*; *mōdor*, *mother*; *dohtor*, *daughter*; *sweostor*, *sister*; and the collective plurals, *gebrōpor*, *gebrōþru*, *brethren*; *gesweostor*, -tru, -tra, *sisters*. *gebrōpor* and *gesweostor* were originally neut. collective nouns and were declined

like *wīte* (§ 202), whence the plural endings *gebrōpru*, *gesweostru*, *-tra*, which were afterwards extended to the plural of *mōdor* and *dohtor*.

SING.

Nom. Acc.	<i>fæder</i>	<i>brōpor</i>	<i>mōdor</i>
Gen.	<i>fæder, -eres</i>	<i>brōpor</i>	<i>mōdor</i>
Dat.	<i>fæder</i>	<i>brēper</i>	<i>mēder</i>

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	<i>fæderas</i>	<i>brōpor, -pru</i>	<i>mōdor, -dru, -dra</i>
Gen.	<i>fædera</i>	<i>brōpra</i>	<i>mōdra</i>
Dat.	<i>fæderum</i>	<i>brōprum</i>	<i>mōdrum</i>

SING.

Nom. Acc.	<i>dohtor</i>	<i>sweostor</i>
Gen.	<i>dohtor</i>	<i>sweostor</i>
Dat.	<i>dehter</i>	<i>sweostor</i>

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	<i>dohtor, -tru, -tra</i>	<i>sweostor</i>
Gen.	<i>dohtra</i>	<i>sweostra</i>
Dat.	<i>dohtrum</i>	<i>sweostrum</i>

fæderes and *fæderas* were formed after the analogy of the *a*-stems (§ 183). In late OE. the dat. *mēder*, *dehter* were often used for the gen. and vice versa.

4. THE MASCULINE STEMS IN *-nd*.

§ 263. SING.

Nom. Acc.	<i>frēond, friend</i>	<i>wīgend, warrior</i>
Gen.	<i>frēondes</i>	<i>wīgendes</i>
Dat.	<i>frīend, frēonde</i>	<i>wīgende</i>

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	<i>frīend, frēond, -as</i>	<i>wīgend, -e, -as</i>
Gen.	<i>frēonda</i>	<i>wīgendra</i>
Dat.	<i>frēondum</i>	<i>wīgendum</i>

The nouns of this class are old isolated present participles, and originally had the same case-endings as the other consonantal stems. But in OE. as in the other Germanic languages they underwent various new formations. The OE. present participles themselves had passed over into the *ja*-declension of adjectives (§ 289) in the oldest period of the language.

The nom. sing. was a new formation with *d* from the inflected forms, cp. Lat. *ferēns* from **ferenss* older **ferents* (§ 119). The gen. and dat. sing. and the nom. acc. pl. in *-es*, *-e*, *-as* were formed after the analogy of the masc. *a*-stems (§ 180). The dat. *frīend* with umlaut is from **friondi* older **frijōndi*; and the nom. pl. *frīend* is also from **friondi* older **frijōndiz*. The nom. and gen. pl. endings *-e*, *-ra* are adjectival (§ 271).

§ 264. Like *frēond* are declined *fēond*, *enemy*; *tēond*, *accuser*; the compound noun *gōddōnd* (pl. *-dōnd*, beside *-dēnd*), *benefactor*; and the collective plurals *gefiend*, *enemies*; *gefrīend*, *friends*, which were originally neuter collective nouns and declined like *wīte* (§ 202).

§ 265. Like *wīgend* are declined *āgend*, *owner*; *beswicend*, *deceiver*; *hǣlend*, *Saviour*; *helpend*, *helper*; *hettend*, *enemy*; *ner(i)gend*, *Saviour*; *wealdend*, *ruler*.

5. STEMS IN *-os*, *-es*.

§ 266. This class of nouns corresponds to the Greek neuters in *-os*, Latin *-us*, as Gr. *γένος*, *race*, gen. *γένεος* older **γένεσος*, Lat. *genus*, gen. *generis*, pl. *genera*. A fairly large number of nouns originally belonged to this class, but owing to various levellings and new formations, some of which took place in the prehistoric period of all the Germanic languages, nearly all the nouns belonging here went over into other declensions in OE.; see *OE. Grammar*, § 419.

§ 267. The few remaining nouns formed their gen. and dat. sing. after the analogy of the neuter *a*-stems (§ 188). The cases of the plural were regularly developed from the corresponding prim. Germanic forms.

SING.

Nom. Acc.	lamb , <i>lamb</i>	cealf , <i>calf</i>	æg , <i>egg</i>
Gen.	lambes	cealfes	æges
Dat.	lambe	cealfe	æge

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	lambru	cealfru	ægru
Gen.	lambra	cealfra	ægra
Dat.	lambrum	cealfrum	ægum

Beside **lamb** there also occurs **lombor** and sometimes **lemb**; in late OE. the pl. was **lamb**, **lamba**, **lambum** after the analogy of the neut. *a*-stems. Beside the Anglian sing. **calf** there also occurs **cælf**, **celf** with *i*-umlaut.

§ 268. Like **lamb** are declined **cild** (pl. **cild** beside **cildru**), *child*; **speld**, *splinter*, *torch*; pl. **brēadru**, *crumbs*.

CHAPTER X

ADJECTIVES

A. THE DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES.

§ 269. In OE., as in the other old Germanic languages, the adjectives are declined as strong or weak. They have three genders, and the same cases as nouns with the addition of an instrumental in the masc. and neut. singular.

The strong form is used predicatively in the positive and superlative degrees, and when the adjective is used attributively without any other defining word, as **wæs sēo fāmne geong**, *the woman was young*; **þā menn sindon gōde**, *the men are good*; **þus wæron þā latestan fyrmeste**, *thus were the last, first*. In the vocative the weak form exists beside the strong, as **þū lēofa dryhten**, *thou dear Lord*; **þū riht cyning**, *thou just king*.

The weak form is used after the definite article, and after demonstrative and possessive pronouns, as **se ofermoda cyning**,

the proud king; þæs ēadigan weres, of the blessed man; þes ealda mann, this old man; on þissum andweardan dæge, on this present day; mīn lēofa sunu, my dear son; þurh þīne æþelan hand, through thy noble hand. In poetry the weak form often occurs where in prose the strong form would be used.

eall, all; fēawe, few; genōg, enough; manig, many; and ōþer, second, were always declined according to the strong declension; and ordinal numerals except *ōþer*, comparatives, and superlatives except the nom. acc. neut. in *-est, -ost, and ilca, same*, are declined according to the weak declension. All other adjectives can be declined according to either declension.

When the same adjective refers to nouns of different genders, it is put in the neut. plural.

1. THE STRONG DECLENSION.

§ 270. The endings of the strong declension are partly nominal and partly pronominal; the latter are printed in italics for *blind, blind*, and *glæd, glad*. The nominal endings are those of the *a-, ō-*declensions. The strong declension is divided into pure *a-, ō-*stems, *ja-, jō-*stems, and *wa-, wō-*stems, like the corresponding nouns. The original *i-* and *u-*stems passed over almost entirely into this declension in prehistoric OE. The *ja-, jō-*stems and the *wa-, wō-*stems only differ from the pure *a-, ō-*stems in the masc. and fem. nom. singular and the neut. nom. acc. singular.

a. PURE *a-, ō-*STEMS.

§ 271.

SING.	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
Nom.	<i>blind, blind</i>	<i>blind</i>	<i>blind</i>
Acc.	<i>blindne</i>	<i>blind</i>	<i>blinde</i>
Gen.	<i>blindes</i>	<i>blindes</i>	<i>blindre</i>
Dat.	<i>blindum</i>	<i>blindum</i>	<i>blindre</i>
Instr.	<i>blinde</i>	<i>blinde</i>	

PLUR.	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
Nom. Acc.	blinde	blind	blinda, -e
Gen.	blindra	blindra	blindra
Dat.	blindum	blindum	blindum
SING.			
Nom.	glæd, <i>glad</i>	glæd	gladu, -o
Acc.	glædne	glæd	glade
Gen.	glades	glades	glædre
Dat.	gladum	gladum	glædre
Instr.	glade	glade	
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	glade	gladu, -o	glada, -e
Gen.	glædra	glædra	glædra
Dat.	gladum	gladum	gladum

On the interchange between æ and a in the declension of *glæd*, see § 29, note 1; on the loss or retention of the -u, -o in the fem. nom. sing. and the nom. acc. neut. plural, see § 85. 1. In late WS. the masc. nom. acc. pl. form was generally used for the neuter and often for the feminine; and occasionally the -u of the short stems was extended to the long.

§ 272. Like *blind* are declined the monosyllabic adjectives with long stems, as *beald*, *bold*; *brūn*, *brown*; *dēad*, *dead*; *dēop*, *deep*; *genōg* (*genōh*), *enough*; *gōd*, *good*; *grēat*, *large*; *hāl*, *whole, sound*; *lang*, *long*; *sār*, *sore*; *sēoc*, *sick*; *wāc*, *weak*; *wæt*, *wet*; *wis*, *wise*; *wrāþ*, *wroth, angry*; compound and derivative adjectives ending in -cund, -feald, -fæst, -full, -lēas, -weard, as *æpelcund*, *of noble origin*; *ānfeald*, *single*; *ārfæst*, *virtuous*; *andgietful*(1), *intelligent*; *bānlēas*, *boneless*; *andweard*, *present*. For the simplification of the double consonants in the inflected forms of adjectives like *eall*, *all*; *full*, *full*, see § 145.

§ 273. Like *glæd* are declined the monosyllabic adjectives with short stems, as *bær*, *bare*; *blæc*, *black*; *smæl*, *small*; *dol*, *foolish*; *til*, *good*; *wan*, *wanting*; adjectives with the suffixes -lic and -sum, as *ānlic*, *solitary*; *angsum*, *troublesome*.

§ 274.

SING.	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
Nom.	<i>hēah, high</i>	<i>hēah</i>	<i>hēa</i>
Acc.	<i>hēa(n)ne</i>	<i>hēah</i>	<i>hēa</i>
Gen.	<i>hēas</i>	<i>hēas</i>	<i>hēa(r)re</i>
Dat.	<i>hēa(u)m</i>	<i>hēa(u)m</i>	<i>hēa(r)re</i>
Instr.	<i>hēa</i>	<i>hēa</i>	
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	<i>hēa</i>	<i>hēa</i>	<i>hēa</i>
Gen.	<i>hēa(r)ra</i>	<i>hēa(r)ra</i>	<i>hēa(r)ra</i>
Dat.	<i>hēa(u)m</i>	<i>hēa(u)m</i>	<i>hēa(u)m</i>

hēanne, *hēarra*, *hēarre* were due to the assimilation of *hn* and *hr*; and *hēane*, *hēara*, *hēare* arose from the regular loss of *h* before *n*, *r* (§ 144). In *hēaum* the *u* was restored after the analogy of forms like *gladum*, *blindum*. The instr., masc. and fem. nom. pl., and fem. acc. singular *hēa* were from older **hēahe*; and the neut. nom. acc. pl. and fem. nom. singular from older **hēahu*; masc. and neut. gen. sing. from **hēahes*. See § 68. Late OE. forms like gen. *hēages*, dat. *hēage*, nom. pl. *hēage* beside older *hēas*, *hēa(u)m*, *hēa* were formed after the analogy of such words as gen. *gefōges*, *genōges* beside nom. *gefōh*, *genōh* (§ 172).

§ 275. Like *hēah* are declined *fāh*, *hostile*; *nēah*, *near*; *rūh*, *rough*; *tōh*, *tough*. *sceolh*, *awry*, *squinting*, and *þweorh*, *cross*, *perverse*, dropped the *h* and lengthened the diphthong in the inflected forms, as gen. *scēoles*, *þwēores*, cp. § 76.

§ 276.

SING.	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
Nom.	<i>manig, many</i>	<i>manig</i>	<i>manig</i>
Acc.	<i>manigne</i>	<i>manig</i>	<i>manige</i>
Gen.	<i>maniges</i>	<i>maniges</i>	<i>manigre</i>
Dat.	<i>manigum</i>	<i>manigum</i>	<i>manigre</i>
Instr.	<i>manige</i>	<i>manige</i>	

PLUR.	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
Nom. Acc.	manige	manig	maniga, -e
Gen.	manigra	manigra	manigra
Dat.	manigum	manigum	manigum
SING.			
Nom.	hālig, <i>holy</i>	hālig	hāligu, -o
Acc.	hāligne	hālig	hālge
Gen.	hālges	hālges	hāligre
Dat.	hālgum	hālgum	hāligre
Instr.	hālge	hālge	
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	hālge	hāligu, -o	hālga, -e
Gen.	hāligra	hāligra	hāligra
Dat.	hālgum	hālgum	hālgum

On the loss or retention of the medial vowel in the inflected forms, see §§ 97-8; and on the loss or retention of the -u, -o in the fem. nom. sing. and the neut. nom. acc. pl., see § 85. 1. In adjectives ending in -en, -er, the combinations -enne (masc. acc. sing.), -erra (gen. pl.), and -erre (fem. gen. dat. sing.) were often simplified to -ene, -era, -ere especially in late OE. (§ 145).

§ 277. Like *manig* are declined the dissyllabic adjectives with short stems, as *bysig*, *busy*; *efen*, *even*; *fægen*, *glad*; *fæger*, *fair*; *micel*, *large*, *great*; *nacod*, *naked*; *open*, *open*; *sicor*, *sure*; *yfel*, *evil*; pp., as *boren*, *borne*; *coren*, *chosen*; *legen*, *lain*, see § 290.

§ 278. Like *hālig* are declined the dissyllabic adjectives with long stems, as *ācol*, *timid*; *āgen*, *own*; *bit(t)er*, *bitter*; *cildisc*, *childish*; *ēadig*, *rich*, *happy*; *geōmor*, *sad*; *gylden*, *golden*; *lȳtel*, *little*; *ōper*, *second*; *snottor*, *wise*; pp., as *bunden*, *bound*; *holpen*, *helped*, see § 290.

b. ja-, jō-STEMS.

§ 279. In the ja-, jō-stems it is necessary to distinguish between those stems which were originally long and those which

became long by the West Germanic doubling of consonants (§ 135). The latter class were declined in OE. like the pure *a*-, *ō*-stems ending in double consonants (§ 272); such are: *gesibb*, *akin*, *related*; *midd*, *middle*; *nytt*, *useful*. The regular form of the nom. sing. masc. and neut. of a word like *midd* would be **mide*, see § 197.

§ 280.

SING.	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
Nom.	wilde, <i>wild</i>	wilde	wildu, -o
Acc.	wildne	wilde	wilde
Gen.	wildes	wildes	wildre
Dat.	wildum	wildum	wildre
Instr.	wilde	wilde	
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	wilde	wildu, -o	wilda, -o
Gen.	wildra	wildra	wildra
Dat.	wildum	wildum	wildum

The only difference in declension between the original long *ja*-, *jō*-stems and the long pure *a*-, *ō*-stems is in the masc. nom. sing., neut. nom. acc. sing. and plural, and the fem. nom. singular. *wilde* (masc. nom. sing.) is regularly developed from prim. Germanic **wilþjaz*, and the neut. nom. acc. sing. from **wilþjan* (§§ 84, 141); *wildu* (fem. nom. sing. and neut. nom. acc. plural) was formed on analogy with the short pure *a*-stems (§ 271), the regular form would be **wild* (see § 85. 1). Double consonants were simplified before or after other consonants (§ 145), as masc. acc. sing. *þynne*, *thin*, *fæene*, *deceitful*, *ierne*, *angry*, from **þynnne*, **fæenne*, **ierrne*; fem. gen. dat. sing. *gīfre*, *greedy*, *ierre* from **gīfre*, **ierrre*. When *n*, *r* came to stand between two consonants the first of which was not a nasal or liquid, they became vocalic and then developed an *e* before them, as masc. acc. sing. *gīferne* from **gīfrne*; fem. gen. dat. sing. *fæcenre* from **fæcnre*. Nearly all the old long *i*- and *u*-stems went over into this declension in prehistoric OE.

§ 281. Like *wilde* are declined a large number of adjectives, as *æpele*, *noble*; *blipe*, *joyful*; *cēne*, *bold*; *clāne*, *clean*; *dīere*, *dear*; *fāge*, *fated*; *frēo* (§ 69), *free*; *gesīene*, *visible*; *getrīewe*, *faithful*; *grēne*, *green*; *ierre*, *angry*; *lipe*, *gentle*; *milde*, *mild*; *nīewe*, *nīwe* (§ 62), *new*; *ofersprāce*, *loquacious*; *ripe*, *ripe*; *smēpe*, *smooth*; *streng*e, *strong*; *þriwintre*, *three years old*; *þynne*, *thin*; *wierpe*, *worthy*; adjectives ending in *-bære*, *-ede*, *-wende*, as *hālbære*, *wholesome*; *hōcede*, *shaped like a hook*; *lufwende*, *amiable*; and the present participles (§ 289).

c. wa-, wō-STEMS.

§ 282.

SING.	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
Nom.	gearu, -o, <i>ready</i>	gearu, -o	gearu, -o
Acc.	gearone	gearu, -o	gearwe
Gen.	gearwes	gearwes	gearore
Dat.	gearwum	gearwum	gearore
Instr.	gearwe	gearwe	
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	gearwe	gearu, -o	gearwa, -e
Gen.	gearora	gearora	gearora
Dat.	gearwum	gearwum	gearwum

w became vocalized to *u* (later *o*) when final and before consonants in prehistoric OE. (§ 149); whence masc. nom. sing., neut. nom. acc. sing. *gearu* from **garw-az*, *-an*. The *u* had become *o* before consonants in the oldest period of the language, as *gearone*, *gearora*. The fem. nom. sing. and neut. nom. acc. pl. are from older **garwu* with loss of *w* before the following *u* (§ 144). The dat. *gearwum* for **gearum* was a new formation made from forms like *gearwes*, *gearwe*, where the *w* was regular. On forms like gen. *gearuwes*, *gearowes* beside *gearwes*, see § 102.

§ 283. Like *gearu* are declined *calu*, *bald*; *fealu*, *fallow*; *geolu*, *yellow*; *mearu*, *tender*; *nearu*, *narrow*; *salu*, *sealu*, *dusky*, *dark*; &c.

§ 284. The adjectives which had a long vowel or long diphthong in the stem reintroduced the *w* into the nominative from the inflected forms (§ 149) and then came to be declined like pure long *a*-, *ō*-stems (§ 271); such are: *gedēaw*, *dewy*; *gehlēow*, *sheltered*; *gesēaw*, *succulent*; *glēaw*, *wise*; *hrēaw*, *raw*; *slāw*, *slow*; *pēow*, *servile*. *fēawe* (*fēa*), *few*, neut. *fēa* from **fawu*, fem. *fēawa*; gen. *fēara*, *fēawera* (§ 102), dat. *fēam*, *fēaum*, *fēawum*.

d. i-STEMS.

§ 285. Of the adjectives which originally belonged to this class, the long stems took final *-i* (later *-e*) from analogy with the short stems and then both classes went over into the *ja*-declension in prehistoric OE. The old short *i*-stems are still recognizable by the fact that they do not have double consonants in the stem-syllable. Examples are: *bryce*, *brittle*; *gemyne*, *remembering*; *swice*, *deceitful*; and of old long *i*-stems: *blipe* (Goth. *bleiþs*), *joyful*; *brȳce* (Goth. *brūks*), *useful*; *clāne*, *clean*; *gemāne* (Goth. *gamáins*), *common*; *grēne*, *green*; *swēte*, *sweet*; &c.

e. u-STEMS.

§ 286. Of the adjectives which originally belonged to this class only three have preserved traces of the old *u*-declension, namely nom. sing. *cwicu*, *c(w)ucu*, *alive*, masc. acc. sing. *cucone*, nom. *wlacu*, *warm*, *lepid*, and the WS. isolated inflected form *fēla*, *feola* (Nth. *feolu*, *-o*), *much*, *many*. And even *cwicu*, *wlacu* generally have nom. *cwic*, *wlæc* and are declined like short pure *a*-stems. All the other adjectives passed over into the *a*-, *ja*-, or *wa*-declension in prehistoric OE., as *heard* (Goth. *hardus*), *hard*; *egle* (Goth. *aglus*), *troublesome*; *twelfwintre* (Goth. *twalibwintrus*), *twelve years old*; *pyrre* (Goth. *paúrsus*), *dry*, *withered*; *glēaw* (Goth. *glaggwus*), *wise*.

2. THE WEAK DECLENSION.

§ 287. The weak declension of adjectives has the same endings as the weak declension of nouns, except that the adjectives generally have the strong ending *-ra* (§ 271) instead of *-(e)na* in the gen. plural. Beside the regular dat. pl. ending *-um* there also occurs at an early period *-an* which was taken over from the nom. acc. plural. In trisyllabic adjectives the medial vowel remained after short stems, but disappeared after long stems, as *wacora*, *wacore*, *vigilant*, beside *hālga*, *hālge*, *holy* (§§ 97-8). On adjectives like *hōa*, *high*, gen. *hōan*, see § 274. In like manner are declined the *ja*- and *wa*-stems, as *wilda*, *wilde*, *wild*; *gearwa*, *gearwe*, *ready*.

§ 288.

SING.	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
Nom.	<i>blinda</i> , <i>blind</i>	<i>blinde</i>	<i>blinde</i>
Acc.	<i>blindan</i>	<i>blinde</i>	<i>blindan</i>
Gen.	<i>blindan</i>	<i>blindan</i>	<i>blindan</i>
Dat.	<i>blindan</i>	<i>blindan</i>	<i>blindan</i>
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	<i>blindan</i>	<i>blindan</i>	<i>blindan</i>
Gen.	<i>blindra</i> , <i>-ena</i>	<i>blindra</i> , <i>-ena</i>	<i>blindra</i> , <i>-ena</i>
Dat.	<i>blindum</i>	<i>blindum</i>	<i>blindum</i>

3. THE DECLENSION OF PARTICIPLES.

§ 289. In the parent language the stem of the present participle ended in *-nt*, as in Lat. *ferent-*, Gr. *φέρωντ-*, *bearing*. The masc. and neut. were originally declined like consonant stems (§ 263). The fem. nom. originally ended in *-ī* which was shortened to *-i* (§ 85. 3) in prehistoric OE. (cp. Goth. *frijōndi*, fem. *friend*). The *-i* of the feminine was extended to the masculine and neuter, which was the cause of their passing over into the *ja*-declension (§ 279). In OE. the pres. participle was

declined strong or weak like an ordinary adjective. When used predicatively it often had the uninflected form for all genders in the nom. and accusative.

§ 290. The past participle, like the present, was declined strong or weak like an ordinary adjective. When strong it was declined like *manig* or *hālig* (§ 276) according as the stem-syllable was short or long; and similarly when it was declined weak (§ 288). When used predicatively it generally had the uninflected form for all genders. A small number of past participles of strong verbs have i-umlaut of the stem-vowel, because in prim. Germanic, beside the ordinary ending *-énaz* = Indg. *-énos*, there also existed *-íniz* = Indg. *-énis*, hence forms like *ægen* beside *āgen*, *own*; *cymen* beside *eumen*, *come*; *slegen* beside *slægen*, *slagen*, *slain*; *tygen* from **tuginiz* beside *togen* from **tugenaz*, *drawn*. See § 326.

B. THE COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES.

I.

§ 291. In prim. Germanic the comparative was formed from the positive by means of the two suffixes *-iz-*, *-ōz-* (= prim. OE. *-ir-*, *-ōr-*, § 115), to which were then added the endings of the weak adjectives. In prim. OE. polysyllabic derivative adjectives and compound adjectives had the suffix *-ōr-*, and the great majority of uncompounded pure *a*-stems also had it, but the *ja*-stems had only *-ir-*. During the prehistoric period of OE. the *i* in *-ir-* caused umlaut of the stem-syllable (§ 57), and then along with the *ō* in the suffix *-ōr-* disappeared, leaving only *-r-* for all classes of adjectives, so that, except in the *ja*-stems, the presence or absence of umlaut is the only indication as to which of the two prim. Germanic suffixes the *-r-* goes back.

In prim. Germanic the superlative was formed from the positive by means of the two suffixes *-ist-*, *-ōst-* (= OE. *-est-*, *-ost-*), to which were then added the endings of the strong or weak adjectives. The adjectives which had *-iz-* in the comparative had *-ist-* in the superlative, and those which had

-ōz- in the comparative had -ōst- in the superlative. In OE. the adjectives which had i-umlaut in the comparative generally had -est-, but sometimes also -ost- in the superlative, and those which did not have umlaut in the comparative generally had -ost- (rarely -ust-, -ast-). In Gothic the superlative had both the strong and the weak declension, but in OE. it generally had only the weak except in the nom. acc. neuter which had both forms -est-, -ost-, beside -este-, -oste. In late OE. the medial vowel was often syncopated, as in *lengsta* beside older *lengesta*. On the interchange of the medial vowel in forms like *lēofesta* beside *lēofosta*, *dearest*, see § 100.

Examples are :—

<i>earm</i> , <i>poor</i>	<i>earmra</i>	<i>earmost</i>
<i>grim</i> (m), <i>grim</i>	<i>grimra</i>	<i>grimmost</i>
<i>hālig</i> , <i>holy</i>	<i>hāligra</i>	<i>hāligost</i>
<i>lēof</i> , <i>dear</i>	<i>lēofra</i>	<i>lēofost</i>
<i>glæd</i> , <i>glad</i>	<i>glædra</i>	<i>gladost</i> (§ 30)
<i>nēah</i> , <i>near</i>	<i>nēahra</i> , <i>nēarra</i> (§ 142)	<i>nīehst</i> (§ 57)
<i>clāne</i> , <i>clean</i>	<i>clānra</i>	<i>clānest</i>
<i>īepe</i> , <i>easy</i>	<i>īepra</i>	<i>īepest</i>

Only a small number of a-stems have umlaut in the comparative and superlative, of which the most common are :—

<i>brād</i> , <i>broad</i>	<i>brādra</i> beside <i>brādra</i>	<i>brādest</i>
<i>eald</i> , <i>old</i>	<i>ieldra</i> (Goth. <i>alpiza</i>)	<i>ieldest</i>
<i>feorr</i> , <i>far</i>	<i>fierra</i>	<i>fierrest</i>
<i>geong</i> , <i>young</i>	<i>giengra</i> , <i>gingra</i>	<i>giengest</i> , <i>gingest</i>
<i>grēat</i> , <i>great</i>	<i>grīetra</i>	<i>grīettest</i>
<i>hēah</i> , <i>high</i>	<i>hīehra</i> , <i>hīerra</i> (§ 142), beside <i>hēahra</i>	<i>hiehst</i>
<i>lang</i> , <i>long</i>	<i>lengra</i>	<i>longest</i>
<i>sceort</i> , <i>short</i>	<i>scietra</i>	<i>sciertest</i>
<i>strang</i> , <i>strong</i>	<i>strengra</i>	<i>strengest</i>

2. IRREGULAR COMPARISON.

§ 292. The following adjectives form their comparatives and superlatives from a different root than the positive:—

gōd, <i>good</i>	{ bet(e)ra, bettra (§ 146)	bet(e)st
	{ sēlra, sēlla (§ 142)	sēlest
lýtēl, <i>little</i>	lāssa (cp. § 142)	lāst
micel, <i>great</i>	māra	māst
yfel, <i>evil</i>	wiersa	wierrest (§ 142), wierst

NOTE.—In a few words comparative and superlative adjectives were formed from adverbs: *æ*r, *before*, *æ*rra, *former*, *earlier*, *æ*rest, *first*; *fy*rest from **fur*ist-, *first*, related to *fore*, *before*; *fur*pra, *higher*, *greater*, related to *for*þ, *forth*.

§ 293. In a number of words the comparative was formed from an adverb or preposition, with a superlative in -um-, -uma (prim. Germanic -umō), cp. Lat. *optimus*, *best*, *summus*, *highest*. The simple superlative suffix was preserved in OE. *forma* (Goth. *fruma*), *first*, beside *fore*, *before*; *hindema*, *last*, *hindmost*, beside *hindan*, *behind*; and *meduma*, *medema*, *mid-way in size*, related to *midd*, *middle*. But in prehistoric OE., as in Gothic, to -um- was added the ordinary superlative suffix -ist- which gave rise to the double superlative suffix -umist-, as Goth. *frumists*, *first*; *hindumists*, *hindmost*. In OE. -umist- became -ymist- (§ 57), later -imest-, -emest-, -mest-, as

æfter, <i>after</i>	æfterra	æftemest
ēast, <i>eastwards</i>	ēasterra	ēastmest
fore, <i>before</i>		forma, fyrmest
inne, <i>within</i>	innerra	innemest
læt, <i>late</i>	lætra	lættemest beside lættest
midd, <i>middle</i>		medema, midmest
niopan, <i>below</i>	niperra	ni(o)pemest
norþ, <i>northwards</i>	norþerra, nyrþra	norþmest

sīp, <i>late</i>	sīpra	sīpemest beside sīpest
sūp, <i>southwards</i>	sūperra, sȳperra	sūpmest
ufan, <i>above</i>	{ uferra { yferra	{ ufemest { yfemest
ūte, <i>without</i>	{ ūterra { ȳterra	{ ūt(e)mest { ȳt(e)mest
west, <i>westwards</i>	westerra	westmest

C. NUMERALS.

I. CARDINAL AND ORDINAL.

§ 294.

ān, <i>one</i>	{ forma, formest(a) { fyrmest(a), fyrest(a), ārest(a)
twā (§ 295), <i>two</i>	ōper, æfterra
pri (§ 295), <i>three</i>	pridda
fēower, <i>four</i>	fēo(we)rpa
fif, <i>five</i>	fifta
siex, <i>six</i> , <i>six</i>	siexta, sexta
seofon, <i>seven</i>	seofopa
eahta, <i>eight</i>	eahtopa
nigon, <i>nine</i>	nigopa
tien, tȳn, tēn, <i>ten</i>	tēopa
en(d)le(o)fan, <i>eleven</i>	en(d)le(o)fta
twelf, <i>twelve</i>	twelfta
prēotiene, <i>thirteen</i>	prēotēopa
fēowertiene, <i>fourteen</i>	fēowertēopa
fiftiene, <i>fifteen</i>	fiftēopa
siex-, <i>sixtiene</i> , <i>sixteen</i>	siex-, <i>sixtēopa</i>
seofontiene, <i>seventeen</i>	seofontēopa
eahtatiene, <i>eighteen</i>	eahtatēopa
nigontiene, <i>nineteen</i>	nigontēopa
twēntig, <i>twenty</i>	twēntigopa
ān and twēntig, <i>twenty-one</i>	

þrítig, <i>thirty</i>	þrítigöpa
fēowertig, <i>forty</i>	fēowertigöpa
fiftig, <i>fifty</i>	fiftigöpa
si(e)xtig, <i>sixty</i>	si(e)xtigöpa
hundseofontig, <i>seventy</i>	hundseofontigöpa
hundeatig, <i>eighty</i>	hundeatigöpa
hundnigontig, <i>ninety</i>	hundnigontigöpa
hundtēontig } , <i>hundred</i>	hundtēontigöpa
hund, hundred }	
hundendleofantig } , 110	hundendleofantigöpa
hundendlufontig }	hundendlufontigöpa
hundtwelftig, 120	hundtwelftigöpa
tū hund, hundred, 200	
þrēo hund, hundred, 300	
þūsend, <i>thousand</i>	

§ 295. The cardinals 1 to 3 were declinable in all cases and genders. *ān* was declined according to the strong (§ 271) or weak declension (§ 288) of adjectives. The strong masc. acc. sing. is generally *ānne* (shortened later to *ænne*, *enne*) from prim. Germanic **aininōn*, beside the less common form *ānne* from **ainanōn*. Strong pl. forms are rare, but they occur occasionally, meaning *each*, *all*, *every one*, as *ānra gehwile*, *each one*. When declined weak it means *alone*, *solus*.

	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
Nom. Acc.	twēgen, <i>two</i>	tū, twā	twā
Gen.	{ twēg(e)a twēgra	twēg(e)a twēgra	twēg(e)a twēgra
Dat.	twām, twām	twām, twām	twām, twām

Like *twēgen* is also declined *bēgen* (shortened later to *beggen*), neut. *bū*, fem. *bā* (Goth. masc. *bái*), *both*. Also in the combination masc. and fem. *bā twā*, neut. *bū tū*, often written in one word *būtū*, *both*.

	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
Nom. Acc.	þrī, þrīe, <i>three</i>	þrīo, þrēo	þrīo, þrēo
Gen.	{ þrīora þrēora	þrīora þrēora	þrīora þrēora
Dat.	þrim	þrim	þrim

§ 296. The cardinal numbers 4 to 19 generally remained uninflected when they stood before a noun, whereas, if they stood after a noun or were used as nouns, they were declined according to the i-declension: nom. acc. masc. and fem. -e, neut. -u (-o); gen. -a, dat. -um, as of *fif hlāfum*, *from five loaves*; *mid fēawum brōþrum*, *þæt is, seofonum opþe eahtum*, *with seven or eight brothers*; *fifa sum*, *one of five*.

§ 297. The ending -tig of the decades was originally a noun meaning *decade*, whence *twēntig* from *twēgen* + *tig*, lit. *two decades*, with a following noun in the gen. case (cp. Goth. *twái tigjus*, *twenty*, dat. *twáim tigum*). The OE. decades could be used both substantively and adjectively. When used as substantives their gen. ended in -es; when used as adjectives they were either uninflected or formed their gen. in -ra, -a, and dat. in -um. *hund*, *hundred*, and *þūsend*, *thousand*, being nouns, governed a following noun in the gen. case. *hund* was generally uninflected, but occasionally it had a dat. ending -e, -um. *hundred* had a pl. form *hundredu*, -o, when used absolutely. *þūsend* was a neut. noun and was often inflected as such.

2. OTHER NUMERALS.

§ 298. The multiplicative numeral adjectives were formed from the cardinals and the suffix -feald, as *ānfeald*, *single*, *twie-*, *twifeald*, *twofold*, *þrie-*, *þrifeald*, *threefold*, *fēowerfeald*, *fourfold*, &c., *manigfeald*, *manifold*, which were declined as ordinary adjectives. The first element of *twifeald*, *þrifeald* was sometimes inflected, as dat. *twāmfældum*, *þrimfældum*.

§ 299. Of the old adverbial multiplicatives only three

occur: *āne* (rare in gen. form *ānes*), *once*; *tuwa*, *twiwa*, *twywa*, *twice*; *þriwa*, *þrywa*, *thrice*. The remaining multipliers, and often also *once*, *twice*, *thrice*, were expressed by *sīþ*, *going*, *way*, and the cardinals, as *āne sīþa* or *on āenne sīþ*, *twām sīþum* (Goth. *twáim sinþam*), *fif sīþum* (Goth. *fimf sinþam*), &c.

§ 300. *For the first, second, third, &c. time*, were expressed by *sīþ* and the ordinals, as *forman sīþe*, *ōpre sīþe*, *þriddan sīþe*, *fifan sīþe*, &c.

§ 301. The distributive numerals were *ān-*, *ānliepige*, *one each*; *be twām* or *twām* and *twām*, *be þrim* or *þrim* and *þrim*, *fēower* and *fēower*, *þūsendum* and *þūsendum*, &c.

§ 302. OE. also had numerals like NHG. *anderthalb*, *dritt(e)halb*, lit. (*one and*) *the second half*, (*two and*) *the third half*. This method of expressing numbers goes back to the prim. Germanic period, and was originally common in all the Germanic languages. Originally both elements of the compound were inflected, but at a later period the compound, when used before nouns, became uninflected like other cardinal numerals, as *ōþer healf hund daga*, *150 days*; *þridða healf*, *two and a half*; *fēo(we)rþa healf*, *three and a half*; cp. Gr. *τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον*, *two talents and a half*, lit. *third half talent*.

CHAPTER XI

PRONOUNS

I. PERSONAL.

§ 303. *First Person.*

	SING.	DUAL.	PLUR.
Nom.	<i>ic, I</i>	<i>wit</i>	<i>wě</i>
Acc.	<i>mec, mē</i>	<i>unc, uncit</i>	<i>ūsic, ūs</i>
Gen.	<i>mīn</i>	<i>uncer</i>	<i>ūser, ūre</i>
Dat.	<i>mē</i>	<i>unc</i>	<i>ūs</i>

§ 304.

Second Person.

	SING.	DUAL.	PLUR.
Nom.	pŭ, <i>thou</i>	git	gě
Acc.	pec, pě	inc, incit	ēowic, ēow, iow
Gen.	pīn	incer	ēower, iower
Dat.	pě	inc	ēow, iow

§ 305.

Third Person.

	SING.		
	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
Nom.	hě, <i>he</i>	hit	hīo, hēo
Acc.	hine, hiene	hit	hīe
Gen.	his	his	hiere, hire
Dat.	him	him	hiere, hire

PLUR. ALL GENDERS.

Nom. Acc.	hīe, hī
Gen.	hiera, hira, hiora, heora
Dat.	him

§ 306. In forms marked with both long and short vowels, as in mě, wě, hě, &c., those with long vowels were the accented, and those with short vowels the unaccented forms. In the pronouns of the first and second persons the gen. case singular, dual, and plural is the same as the uninflected forms of the corresponding possessive pronouns (§ 308). The *c* in the acc. forms *mec*, *pec*, *ūsic*, *ēowic* goes back to a prim. Germanic emphatic particle **ke* = the *-γε* in Gr. *ἐμέγε*. The acc. forms with *c* only occur in the oldest records and in poetry. *unc*, *inc* are old accusatives also used for the dative. The pronoun of the third person is originally a demonstrative pronoun formed from the Indg. stem **ki-*, *this*, which occurs in Lat. *ci-s*, *ci-ter*, *on this side*. The acc. fem. form *hīe* (later also *hī*, *hig*, § 5, note 1) was often used for the nominative, and vice versa *hīo*, *hēo* for *hīe*. In the plural the masc. form was used for all genders, but sometimes the old fem. sing. *hīo*, *hēo* was used

instead of it. The gen. pl. forms **hiora**, **heora** are due to o/a-umlaut (§ 59. 2). All the forms with **ī** often had **ȳ** in late WS.

2. REFLEXIVE.

§ 307. The personal pronouns were used to express the reflexive, to which **self** (declined strong and weak), *self*, was often added to emphasize them.

3. POSSESSIVE.

§ 308. The possessive pronouns are : **mīn**, *my*, **pīn**, *thy*, **sīn** (mostly used in poetry, see below), *his*, *her*, *its*, which were declined in the sing. and plural, all genders, like **blind** (§ 271); **uncer**, *of us two*, **incer**, *of you two*, **ūser**, *our*, **ēower**, *your*, like **hālig** (§ 276), and **ūre**, *our*, like **wilde** (§ 280) except that the fem. nom. sing. was **ūre** not ***ūru**; in the fem. gen. dat. sing. and gen. pl. **ūrre**, **ūrra**, the **rr** was often simplified to **r**. In those cases which had syncope of the medial vowel, the **sr** became **ss** (cp. § 142) in the declension of **ūser**, and then the **ss** was sometimes extended by analogy to the other cases, as nom. sing. **ūsser**, masc. acc. sing. **ūsserne** beside the regular forms **ūser**, **ūserne**.

Instead of **sīn** the gen. of the personal pronoun was generally used except in poetry, as in Lat. **eius**, gen. pl. **eōrum**, **eārum**.

4. DEMONSTRATIVE.

§ 309. The simple demonstrative pronoun **sē**, **pæt**, **sīo** (**sēo**), *the*, *that*, was declined as follows:—

SING.	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
Nom.	sē	pæt	sīo , sēo
Acc.	pone	pæt	pā
Gen.	pæs	pæs	pāre
Dat.	pām , pām	pām , pām	pāre
Instr.		pȳ , pon	

PLUR. ALL GENDERS.

Nom. Acc.	þā
Gen.	þāra, þāra
Dat.	þām, þām

For *þone* late OE. has *þæne*, *þane*; for *þæs* Anglian has *þes* (= Goth. *þis*, OHG. *des*); for the gen. sing. *þære* from **þaizjōz* Merc. and Ken. have *þere* (= Goth. *þizōs*), and for the dat. *þære* from **þaizjai* they have *þere* (= Goth. *þizai*); dat. sing. *þām* from an old instrumental form **þaimi* beside *þām* with the *ā* from the plural forms *þā*, *þāra*, and similarly the dat. pl. *þām* beside the regular form *þēm* from **þaimiz*, and conversely gen. pl. *þāra* with *æ* from the dat. *þēm*. The instr. *þȳ*, *þon* were chiefly used before the comparative of adverbs and as a factor in adverbial conjunctive phrases like the Goth. instr. *þē*, as *þon mā*, *the more*, cp. Goth. *ni þē haldis*, *none the more*; for *þȳ*, for *þon*, *because*, *on that account*.

§ 310. The compound demonstrative pronoun *þēs*, *þis*, *þios* (*þēos*), *this*, was originally formed from the simple demonstrative + the deictic particle **-se*, **-si*. For the origin and explanation of the various forms of this pronoun, see *OE. Grammar*, § 466. It is declined as follows:—

SING.	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
Nom.	þēs	þis	þios, þēos
Acc.	þisne	þis	þās
Gen.	þis(s)es	þis(s)es	þisse
Dat.	þis(s)um	þis(s)um	þisse
Instr.		þȳs, þis	

PLUR. ALL GENDERS.

Nom. Acc.	þās
Gen.	þissa
Dat.	þis(s)um

The medial *-ss-* was often simplified to *-s-*. In the dat sing.

and pl. Anglian has *þios(s)um*, *þeos(s)um* with u-umlaut (§ 59. 1) beside *þis(s)um*. Fem. gen. and dat. sing. *þisse* from older **þisre*, gen. pl. *þissa* from older **þisra* (§ 142); in late OE. there also occur *þissere*, *þissera* with -re, -ra from the simple demonstrative, beside *þisre*, *þisra* with syncope of the medial vowel and simplification of the ss.

§ 311. *ilca*, *same*, which only occurs in combination with the def. art., as *sē ilca*, *þæt ilca*, *sēo ilca*, *the same*, is always declined weak.

self, *seolf*, *sylf*, *silf*, *self*, was declined according to the strong or weak declension. In combination with the def. art., as *sē selfa*, it meant *the selfsame*. See also § 307.

5. RELATIVE.

§ 312. A relative pronoun proper did not exist in prim. Germanic. The separate Germanic languages expressed it in various ways. In OE. it was expressed by the relative particle *þe* alone or in combination with the personal or the simple demonstrative pronoun, and for the third person also by the simple demonstrative pronoun alone, as

ic hit eom, þe wiþ þē sprece, it is I who speak with thee; *idesa scēnost þe on woruld cōme, the fairest one of ladies who came into the world*; *gē þe yfle synt, ye who are evil*.

wē þās word sprecap, þe wē in carcerne sittap, we who sit in prison speak these words; *saga hwæt ic hātte, þe ic lond rēafige, say what I am called, I who lay waste the land*; *þæt se mon ne wāt, þe him on foldan fægrost limpeþ, the man to whom on earth the fairest happens knows not that*.

sē þe brȳd hæfþ, sē is brȳdguma, he who hath the bride is the bridegroom; *gehȳre, sē þe ēaran hæbbe, let him hear who hath ears*; *þæt þe ācenned is of flæsce, þæt is flæsc, that which is born of the flesh is flesh*.

se mon-dryhten, sē ēow þā māþmas geaf, the lord who gave you the treasures; *ponne tōdēlap hī his feoh þæt tō lāfe biþ, then they divide his property which is left*.

6. INTERROGATIVE.

§ 313. The simple interrogative pronoun had no independent form for the feminine, and was declined in the singular only.

	MASC.	NEUT.
Nom.	hwǣ	hwæt
Acc.	hwone	hwæt
Gen.	hwæs	hwæs
Dat.	hwām, hwām	hwām, hwām
Instr.		hwȳ, hwī

Beside *hwone* there also rarely occurs *hwane*, and in late OE. *hwæne*. *hwām* was a new formation with *ā* from *hwā*. Beside *hwȳ*, *hwī* there also occur *hwon* (*hwan*) in such adverbial phrases as *for hwon*, *tō hwon*, *why?*, and *hū*, *how?*

§ 314. *hwæper*, *which of two?*, and *hwelc*, *hwile*, *hwylc*, *what sort of?*, were declined according to the strong declension of adjectives.

7. INDEFINITE.

§ 315. OE. had the following indefinite pronouns:—*æghwā*, *each one, every one*, from *ā*, *ever* + *gi* + *hwa*; and similarly *æghwæper*, *each of two, both*; *æghwelc*, *æghwile*, *each one, every one*. *ælc*, *each, every*; *ænig*, *any*, *nænig*, *not any one, no one*; *æthwā*, *each*; *āhwā*, *any one*; *āhwæper*, *ōhwæper*, *āwper*, *ōwper*, *one of two*, *nāhwæper*, *nōhwæper*, *nāwper*, *nōwper*, *neither of two*; *ān*, *some one, a certain one*, in plur. *each, every, all*, *nān*, *no one*, *nānping*, *nothing*; *āwiht*, *ōwiht*, *āwuht*, *ōwuht*, *āht*, *ōht*, *anything*; *nāwiht*, *nōwiht*, *nāwuht*, *nōwuht*, *nāht*, *nōht*, *nothing*; *gehwā*, *each one, every one*; *gehwæper*, *each of two, both*; *gehwile*, *each, every one*; *hwelchwugu*, *any, some, some one*; *hwæthwugu*, *somewhat, something*; *lōc*, *lōca* + pronoun *hwā*, *hwæper*, as *lōc hwæper þāra gebrōpra*, *whichever of the two brothers*, *bide me lōce hwæs þū wille*, *ask me for whatever thou wilt*; *man*, *one*; *nāt* + *hwā*, *hwelc*, *some one*

I know not who, which ; samhwile, some ; sum, some one ; swā . . . swā, as swā hwā swā, whosoever, whoever, swā hwæt swā, whatsoever, whatever, swā hwæper swā, whichever of two, swā hwele swā, whichever ; swele, swile, such ; pyslic, puslic, pyllic, pullic, such.

CHAPTER XII

VERBS

§ 316. The OE. verb has the following independent forms :— One voice (active), two numbers, three persons, two tenses (present and preterite), two complete moods (indicative and subjunctive, the latter originally the optative), besides an imperative which is only used in the present tense ; one verbal noun (the present infinitive), a present participle with active meaning, and one verbal adjective (the past participle).

The simple future was generally expressed by the present tense as in the oldest periods of the other Germanic languages, but already in OE. the present forms of *bēon, to be, soulan, shall, willan, will*, with the infinitive began to be used to express the future. In the oldest OE. the perfect of transitive verbs was formed by means of the forms of *habban, to have*, and the past participle, and that of intransitive verbs by means of *wesan, to be*, and the past participle. At a later period *habban* came to be used to form the perfect of intransitive verbs also. The only trace of the old passive voice preserved in OE. is *hätte* (Goth. *hátada*), *is* or *was called*, pl. *hätton*. Otherwise the passive was expressed by the forms of *bēon, wesan, to be*, occasionally also by *weorpan, to become*, and the past participle.

§ 317. The OE. verbs are divided into two great classes :— Strong and Weak. The strong verbs form their preterite (originally perfect) and past participle by means of ablaut (§ 103). The weak verbs form their preterite by the addition of a syllable

containing a dental (-*de*, -*te* = Goth. -*da*, -*ta*), and their past participle by means of a dental suffix (-*d*, -*t* = Goth. -*þ*, -*t*).

Besides these two great classes of strong and weak verbs, there are a few others which will be treated under the general heading of *Minor Groups*.

The strong verbs were originally further subdivided into reduplicated and non-reduplicated verbs. In OE. the reduplication almost entirely disappeared in the prehistoric period of the language (§ 355). The non-reduplicated verbs are divided into six classes according to the six ablaut-series (§ 103). The originally reduplicated verbs are put together in this book and called class VII. Strong verbs could have either the strong or weak grade of ablaut in the present; in the former case they are called imperfect presents (as *cēosan*, *to choose*; *helpan*, *to help*; *etan*, *to eat*; &c.), and in the latter case aorist presents (as *lūcan*, *to close*; *murnan*, *to mourn*; *cuman*, *to come*; &c.).

A. STRONG VERBS.

§ 318. We are able to conjugate an OE. strong verb when we know the four stems, as seen (1) in the infinitive or first pers. sing. pres. indicative, (2) first pers. sing. pret. indicative, (3) pret. pl. indicative, (4) the past participle. The conjugation of *beran*, *to bear*, *helpan*, *to help*, *bindan*, *to bind*, *rīdan*, *to ride*, *cēosan*, *to choose*, *weorpan*, *to throw*, *faran*, *to go*, *biddan*, *to pray*, *feallan*, *to fall*, *tēon*, *to draw*, *slēan*, *to slay*, and *fōn*, *to seize*, will serve as models for all strong verbs, because in addition to verbal endings, one or other of them illustrates such phenomena as umlaut (§ 57), the interchange between *i* and *e* in the pres. indic. of verbs belonging to classes III, IV, and V (§ 21. 2), breaking (§§ 51–5), vowel contraction (§ 68), vowel syncope (§ 319), the simplification of double consonants (§ 145), Verner's law (§ 115), and the consonant changes in the second and third pers. sing. of the pres. indicative (§ 319).

Present.

Indicative.

Sing.	1.	berē	helpe	binde	rīde
	2.	bir(e)st	hilpst	bintst	rītst
	3.	bir(e)þ	hilpþ	bint	rīt(t)
Plur.		beraþ	helpaþ	bindaþ	rīdaþ

Subjunctive.

Sing.		berē	helpe	binde	rīde
Plur.		beren	helpen	binden	riden

Imperative.

Sing.	2.	ber	help	bind	rīd
Plur.	2.	beraþ	helpaþ	bindaþ	rīdaþ

Infinitive.

		beran	helpan	bindan	rīdan
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Participle.

		berende	helpende	bindende	rīdende
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Preterite.

Indicative.

Sing.	1	bær	healp	band	rād
	2.	bære	hulpe	bunde	ride
	3.	bær	healp	band	rād
Plur.		bæron	hulpon	bundon	ridon

Subjunctive.

Sing.		bære	hulpe	bunde	ride
Plur.		bæren	hulpen	bunden	riden

Participle.

		boren	holpen	bunden	riden
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Present.

Indicative.

Sing. 1.	cēose	weorpe	fare	bidde
2.	cīest	wierpst	fær(e)st	bitst
3.	cīest	wierpþ	fær(e)þ	bit(t)
Plur.	cēosaþ	weorpaþ	farap	biddaþ

Subjunctive.

Sing.	cēose	weorpe	fare	bidde
Plur.	cēosen	weorpen	faren	bidden

Imperative.

Sing. 2.	cēos	weorp	far	bide
Plur. 2.	cēosaþ	weorpaþ	farap	biddaþ

Infinitive.

cēosan	weorpan	faran	biddan
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Participle.

cēosende	weorpende	farende	biddende
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Preterite.

Indicative.

Sing. 1.	cēas	wearp	fōr	bæd
2.	cure	wurpe	fōre	bæde
3.	cēas	wearp	fōr	bæd
Plur.	curon	wurpon	fōron	bædon

Subjunctive.

Sing.	cure	wurpe	fōre	bæde
Plur.	curen	wurpen	fōren	hæden

Participle.

coren	worpen	faren	beden
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Present.

Indicative.

Sing. 1.	fealle	tēo	slēa	fō
2.	fielst	tīehst	sliehst	fēhst
3.	fielþ	tīehþ	sliehþ	fēhþ
Plur.	feallap	tēoþ	slēaþ	fōþ

Subjunctive.

Sing.	fealle	tēo	slēa	fō
Plur.	feallen	tēon	slēan	fōn

Imperative.

Sing. 2.	feall	tēoh	slēah	fōh
Plur. 2.	feallap	tēoþ	slēaþ	fōþ

Infinitive.

feallan	tēon	slēan	fōn
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Participle.

feallende	tēonde	slēande	fōnde
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Preterite.

Indicative.

Sing. 1.	fēoll	tēah	slōh, slōg	fēng
2.	fēolle	tuge	slōge	fēnge
3.	fēoll	tēah	slōh, slōg	fēng
Plur.	fēollon	tugon	slōgon	fēngon

Subjunctive.

Sing.	fēolle	tuge	slōge	fēnge
Plur.	fēollen	tugen	slōgen	fēngen

Participle.

feallen	togen	slægen	fangen
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THE ENDINGS OF STRONG VERBS.

§ 319. Pres. Indicative: The original ending of the first pers. sing. was *-ō* (cp. Lat. *ferō*, Gr. *φέρω*, *I bear*), which became *-u* (later *-o*) in prim. OE. (§ 85. 1). The *-u* (*-o*) regularly remained after short stems, and disappeared after long stems, as *beru*, *-o* beside **help*, **bind*, but already in prehistoric OE. the verbs with long stems took *-u* again after the analogy of those with short stems. The Anglian dialects mostly preserved the *-u* (*-o*), but in early WS. and Ken. its place was taken by *-e* from the present subjunctive. The personal endings of the second and third pers. sing. and the third pers. pl. of strong verbs which originally had the principal accent on the stem-syllable were in prim. Germanic *-z*, *-ā*, *-nd* (§§ 82, 134) = Indg. *-si*, *-ti*, *-nti*, but the personal endings of the corresponding persons of the aorist presents (i. e. strong verbs with the weak grade of ablaut in the present) and of the first class of weak verbs were: *‘s*, *‘p*, *‘np*, which became generalized in prehistoric OE., cp. § 115. The oldest OE. ending of the second pers. sing. is *-s*, as *biris*, *bindis*, later *bires*, *bindes* (§ 93. 3). The ending *-st* arose partly from analogy with the preterite-present forms *wāst*, *þearft*, *scealt*, &c., and partly from a false etymological division of the pronoun from the verb to which it was often attached enclitically, thus *birisþu* became *biristu*, from which *birist* was extracted as the verbal form. The ending *-st* occurs earliest in the contracted verbs like *tiehst*, *sliehst*, &c. The oldest OE. ending of the third pers. sing. is *-þ*, as *birip*, *bindip*, later *bir(e)þ*, *bint* (§ 164). The *-eþ* appears as *-es* in late Nth.

In the second and third pers. sing. the medial *-i-* (*-e-*) was regularly syncopated after long stems, *hilpst*, *hilpþ*, *tiehst*, *tiehþ*, and remained after short stems, as *birest*, *bireþ*, *færest*, *færeþ* (§ 93. 3), but there are many exceptions to this rule, especially in WS. and Ken., owing to new formations in both directions, as *bindest*, *bindeþ*, *hilpest*, *hilpeþ*, &c., and on the other hand *birst*, *birþ*, *færst*, *færþ*, &c. In Anglian the forms

without syncope were almost entirely generalized, but in WS. and Ken. syncope was practically general except after a liquid or a nasal.

The syncope of the *-e-* in the second and third pers. sing. gave rise to various consonantal changes: Double consonants were simplified before the personal endings (§ 144), as *fīelst*, *fīelþ*, *spīnst*, *spīnþ*, beside inf. *feallan*, *to fall*, *spinnan*, *to spin*.

d became *t* before *-st*, as *bīnst*, *bīst*, *rītst*. *d* and *t* + *-þ* became *tt* (common in the older period of the language), later *t*, as *bīnt*, *bīt(t)*, *rīt(t)*; *bīrst*, *īt(t)*, beside inf. *berstan*, *to burst*, *etan*, *to eat*, see §§ 140, 164. Forms like *bīndest*, *bīdst*; *bīndēþ*, *bīd(e)þ*, &c., were new formations after the analogy of forms which regularly had *d*.

After a long vowel, diphthong, or liquid, *g* became *h* before *-st*, *-þ* (§ 140), as *stīhst*, *stīhþ*, inf. *stīgan*, *to ascend*; *fīehst*, *fīehþ*, inf. *fīēogan*, *to fly*; *swīlhst*, *swīlhþ*, inf. *swelgan*, *to swallow*, but the *g* was often restored from forms which regularly had *g*.

s, *ss*, *st* + *-st*, *-þ* became *-st* (§§ 144, 164), as *cīest*; *cyst* beside inf. *wv. cyssan*, *to kiss*, *bīrst* beside *bīrstest*, *bīrstēþ* (new formations); *x* (= *hs*) + *-st*, *-þ* became *-xt*, as *wīext* beside inf. *wēaxan*, *to grow*. In verbs of this type the second and third pers. sing. regularly fell together.

þ disappeared before *-st* (§ 144), as *cwīst*, *wīerst*, beside inf. *cwēþan*, *to say*, *wēorþan*, *to become*. Forms like *cwīpst*, *wīerþst* were new formations after the analogy of the other forms of the present. *þ* + *-þ* became *-þ*, as *cwīþ*, *wīerþ*.

The forms of the first and second pers. plural had disappeared in the oldest period of the language, their place having been taken by the form of the third person. The ending of the third pers. is *-þ*, as *beraþ*, *bīndaþ*, where *-aþ* goes back to prim. Germanic *-á-nþ* (= Indg. *o-nti*, cp. Gr. Doric *φέρουσι*, *they bear*), which regularly became *-aþ* in OE. (§ 94. 3).

§ 320. Pres. subjunctive: this tense is properly an old optative which came to be used in place of the original subjunctive

in prim. Germanic. The original endings were sing. *-oi-*, *-oi-s*, *-oi-t*; third pers. pl. *-oi-nt* = prim. Germanic *-ai-* (§ 17), *-ai-z* (§ 115), *-ai* (§ 80. 2); *ai-n* (§ 80. 2). The *-z* disappeared in prim. West Germanic (§ 133). Then *ai* became *æ* (through the intermediate stage *ǣ*), see § 89, which remained in the oldest OE., and afterwards became *e*. In this manner all the original forms of the sing. became alike, as *berē*, and the pl. had *-en*, as *berēn*. Beside *-en* there also occurs in late WS. *-an*, and also *-un*, *-on* taken over from the pret. pl. indicative. The final *-n* of the plural disappeared in WS. and Ken. when a personal pronoun of the first or second pers. came immediately after the verb, as *berē wē*, *wit*, *gē*, *git*. Then *berē wē*, &c., came to be used for the indicative and imperative.

§ 321. Imperative: The original ending of the second pers. sing. was *-e* which regularly disappeared (§ 81), whence *ber* = Gr. *φέρε*. On the *-e* in forms like *bide* beside its absence in *ber*, &c., see § 85. 3. In OE. the third pers. pl. of the present indicative was used for the second pers. plural. The first pers. pl. is generally expressed by the pres. subjunctive.

§ 322. Pres. participle: The oldest OE. ending is *-ændi*, *-endi*, later *-ende*. On the inflexion of the present participle, see § 289.

§ 323. Infinitive: The inf. is originally a *nomen actionis* formed by means of the suffix *-ono-* to which was added the nom. acc. neut. ending *-m*, thus the original form of *beran* was **bhéronom*, the *-onom* of which regularly became *-an* in OE. (§§ 17, 80. 1). In prim. West Germanic the inf. was inflected in the gen. and dat. sing. like an ordinary noun of the *ja*-declension (§ 202), gen. *-ennes*, dat. *-enne*. The inflected forms of the inf. are sometimes called the gerund. The gen. disappeared in prehistoric OE. The dat. *tō berenne* generally became *-anne* through the influence of the inf. ending *-an*. Beside *-enne*, *-anne*, there also occur in late OE. *-ene*, *-ane* (§ 145), and *-ende* with *d* from the pres. participle.

§ 324. Pret. indicative: The pret. indic. is morphologically an

old perfect, which already in prim. Germanic was chiefly used to express the past tense. The original endings of the perf. sing. were *-a*, *-tha*, *-e*, cp. Gr. *οἶδα*, *I know*, *οἶσθα*, *οἶδε*. The *-a* and *-e* regularly disappeared in prim. Germanic (§ 81), whence OE. first and third pers. sing. *bær*, *band*, &c. The ending of the second pers. singular would regularly have become *-þ* (§ 111) in OE., except after prim. Germanic *s*, *f*, *χ* where it regularly became *-t* (§ 109, notes), as in Goth. *last*, *thou didst gather*, *slōht*, *thou didst slay*, *þarft* (OE. *þearft*), *thou needest*. This *-t* became generalized in prim. Germanic, as Goth. O.Icel. *namt*, *thou tookest*. But in the West Germanic languages the old ending was only preserved in the preterite-present verbs, as OE. *þearft*, *thou needest*, *scealt*, *thou shalt*, *meaht*, *thou mayest*, &c., see § 383. The third pers. pl. ended originally in *-nt* (with vocalic *n*) which regularly became *-un* in prim. Germanic (§§ 17, 80. 2). *-un* remained in the oldest OE. and then later became *-on*, and in late OE. *-an* beside *-on* occurs, whence *bāron*, *bundon*, &c.

§ 325. Pret. subjunctive: This tense is properly an old optative which came to be used in place of the original subjunctive in prim. Germanic. The prim. Germanic endings of the sing. were: *-ī* (§ 80. 1), *-ī-z* (§ 115), *-ī* (§ 80. 2); third pers. pl. *-ī-n* (§ 80. 2) from earlier *-ī-m*, *-ī-s*, *-ī-t*; *-ī-nt*. The endings of the sing. would regularly have become *-i* in the oldest OE. The *-i* would have caused umlaut in the stem-syllable and then have disappeared after long stems and have remained (later *-e*) after short stems. Regular forms would have been **bynd*, **hylp*, **fēr*, &c., but **cyre*, **tyge*, &c. The pl. ending *-ī-n* would regularly have become *-i-n* (later *-e-n*) with umlaut in the stem-syllable, as **bynden*, **cyren*, &c. But real old pret. subjunctive forms have only been preserved in OE. in a few isolated instances as in the preterite-presents, *dyge*, *soyle*, *þyrfe*. In OE. the old endings of the pres. subjunctive came to be used for the preterite some time before the operation of *i*-umlaut. This accounts for the absence of umlaut in the OE. pret. subjunctive, as *bunde*, *bunden*. Already in early OE. the pret. subjunctive also began

to take the endings of the pret. indicative. The final **-n** of the plural disappeared in WS. and Ken. when a personal pronoun of the first or second person came immediately after the verb, as **bære wē, wit, gē, git**. Then later **bære wē, &c.**, came to be used also for the indicative.

§ 326. Past participle: Prim. Germanic had two endings of the pp., viz. **-én-az, -ín-iz** (= Indg. **-én-os, -én-is**), which regularly fell together in **-en** in OE., but they were still kept apart in the oldest period of the language, the former being **-æn (-en)**, and the latter **-in**, see § 290.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE STRONG VERBS.

§ 327. Present indicative: On the interchange between **i** in the second and third pers. sing. and **e** in the other forms of the present in verbs belonging to classes III, IV, and V, as **hīlpst, hīlpp**: **helpan, to help**; **bir(e)st, bir(e)p**: **beran, to bear**; **cwīst, cwīp**: **cwēpan, to say**, see § 21. 2. **i**-umlaut took place in the second and third pers. sing. of all verbs containing a vowel or diphthong capable of having umlaut. On the **i**-umlaut in verbs of class VI, as **fær(e)st, fær(e)p**, see § 58, note 2. On the Anglian forms of the second and third pers. sing. of verbs like **cēosan, tēon**, see § 57, note 5. The regular forms of the second and third pers. sing. were often remodelled on analogy with the other forms of the present, especially in Anglian, as **help(e)st, help(e)p**; **fealst, fealp, feallest, feallep**; **weorpest, weorpep**, beside older **hīlpst, hīlpp**; **fīelst, fīelp**; **wierpst, wierpp**.

On **u**- or **o/a**-umlaut of **a, e** in the first pers. sing., and the pl. in the non-WS. dialects, see § 59. On the breaking of Germanic **a** to **ea**, as in **feallan, healp, wearp**, and of **e** to **eo**, as in **weorpan**, see §§ 51-2. On the vowel contraction in the present of contracted verbs, see § 68.

Strong verbs like **biddan, to pray, hliehhan, to laugh, liegan, to lie down**, had single medial consonants in the second and third

pers. sing., as **bitst**, **bit(t)**; **hliehst**, **hliehp**; **lig(e)st**, **lig(e)p**, see § 135, note.

§ 328. Infinitive: On the o/a-umlaut in the non-WS. dialects, see § 59.

§ 329. Pret. indicative: OE. only preserved the old pret. (originally perfect) of the second pers. sing. in the preterite-present verbs (§ 383). In all other strong verbs the second pers. sing. was formed direct from the pret. subjunctive, which accounts for the absence of i-umlaut in the stem-syllable and the preservation of the final -e after both short and long stems, as **ride**, **cure**, &c., and **bære**, **hulpe**, **bunde**, &c.

On the question of u-umlaut in the plural of verbs belonging to class I, see § 59. 1.

§ 330. Past participle: The ending of the pp. has already been explained in § 290. In prim. Germanic the prefix ***gi-** was added to the past participle to impart to it a perfective meaning. Verbs which were already perfective in meaning, such as **bringan**, *to bring*, **cuman**, *to come*, **niman**, *to take*, **weorþan**, *to become*, did not originally have it. But in OE. the simple pp. generally had **ge-**, irrespectively as to whether it was perfective or imperfective in meaning. On past participles which have i-umlaut, see § 290.

§ 331. On the parts of strong verbs which exhibit Verner's law in OE., see § 115.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE STRONG VERBS.

Class I.

§ 332. The verbs of this class belong to the first ablaut-series (§ 103) and therefore have **ī** in all forms of the present, **ā** in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, and **i** in the pret. plural and pp., thus:

bīdan , <i>to await</i>	bād	bidon	biden
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And similarly a large number of other verbs, as **ætwtan**, *to blame, reproach*; **bītan**, *to bite*; **drifan**, *to drive*; **gewītan**, *to depart*; **glīdan**, *to glide*; **rīdan**, *to ride*; **scīnan**, *to shine*; **slīdan**,

to slide; *slītan*, *to slit*; *strīdan*, *to stride*; *writan*, *to write*. *stīgan*, *to ascend*, pret. sing. *stāg* beside *stāh* (§ 172); and similarly *hnīgan*, *to incline*; *sīgan*, *to sink*.

§ 333. *snīpan*, *to cut* *snāp* *snidon* *sniden*

And similarly *līpan*, *to go*; *scripan*, *to go, proceed*. See § 115. In *ārīsan*, *to arise*; *gerīsan*, *to befit*; *mīpan*, *to avoid*; *wripan*, *to twist*, the *s*, *p* of the present was extended to all forms of the verb.

§ 334. *tīon*, *tēon*, *to accuse* *tāh* *tigon* *tigen*

tīon, *tēon*, from older **tiohan*, **tīhan* (§§ 55, 68); on the *g* in the pret. pl. and pp., see § 115. The verbs of this type often formed their pret. and pp. after the analogy of class II (§ 335), as *tēah*, *tugon*, *togen*; and similarly *lēon*, *to lend*; *sēon* (pp. also *siwen*, § 114. 5), *to strain*; *pēon*, *to thrive*, *wrēon*, *to cover*.

Class II.

§ 335. The verbs of this class belong to the second ablaut-series (§ 103) and therefore have *ēo* in the present, *ēa* in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, *u* in the pret. plural, and *o* in the pp., thus:

bēodan, *to offer* *bēad* *budon* *boden*

And similarly many other verbs, as *clēofan*, *to cleave asunder*; *crēopan*, *to creep*; *drēopan*, *to drip*; *gēotan*, *to pour*; *rēocan*, *to smoke, reek*; *scēotan*, *to shoot*; *smēocan*, *to smoke*. *drēogan*, *to endure*, pret. sing. *drēag* beside *drēah* (§ 172); and similarly *flēogan*, *to fly*; *lēogan*, *to tell lies*. *brēowan*, *to brew*, pret. sing. *brēaw* (cp. § 149); and similarly *cēowan*, *to chew*; *hrēowan*, *to repent of, rue*.

§ 336. *cēosan*, *to choose* *cēas* *curon* *coren*

And similarly *drēosan*, *to fall*; *forlēosan*, *to lose*; *frēosan*, *to freeze*; *hrēosan*, *to fall*; *sēopan* (*sudon*, *soden*), *to boil*. See § 115.

§ 337. *tēon*, to draw *tēah* *tugon* *togen*

tēon (Goth. *tiuhan*) from **tēohan* (§ 68); on the *g* in the pret. pl. and pp., see § 115; and similarly *flēon*, to flee.

§ 338. Here belong also the aorist presents with weak grade vowel in all forms of the present (§ 317):

brūcan, to use *brēac* *brucon* *brocen*

And similarly *dūfan*, to dive; *lūcan*, to lock; *slūpan*, to slip; *sūcan*, to suck; *sūpan*, to sup. *būgan*, to bend, pret. sing. *bēag* beside *bēah* (§ 172); and similarly *smūgan*, to creep; *sūgan*, to suck.

Class III.

§ 339. The verbs of this class belong to the third ablaut-series (§ 104), and include the strong verbs having a medial nasal or liquid + consonant, and a few others in which the stem-vowel is followed by two consonants other than a nasal or liquid + consonant.

§ 340. Verbs with nasal + consonant have *i* in all forms of the present, *a*, *o* (§ 46) in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, and *u* in the pret. pl. and pp., thus:

bindan, to bind *band* (bond) *bundon* *bunden*

And similarly with many other verbs, as *climban*, to climb; *drincan*, to drink; *findan* (pret. sing. also *funde*), to find; *gelimpan*, to happen; *grindan*, to grind; *onginnan*, to begin; *rinnan*, to run, flow; *sincan*, to sink; *singan*, to sing; *slican*, to slink, creep; *spinnan*, to spin; *stingan*, to sting; *swingan*, to swing; *swimman*, to swim; *windan*, to wind.

NOTE.—In the two verbs corresponding to Goth. *brinnan*, to burn, and *rinnan*, to run, the metathesis of the *r* (§ 143) took place earlier than breaking, whence Anglian *biorna(n)*, *beorna(n)*, *iorna(n)*, *eorna(n)*, see § 53. In WS. we have *biernan* (later *birnan*, *byrnan*), *barn* (born, later *bearn*), *burnon*, *burnen*; and *iernan*, *arn* (orn, later *earn*), *urnon*, *urnen*. *biernan*, *iernan* were new formations made from the third pers. sing. *biern(e)p*, *iern(e)p*. The new formation was due to the fact that the two verbs were mostly used impersonally.

§ 341. Verbs with *l* + cons. except *lc* (§ 342) have *e* in the

present, **ea** (§ 51) in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, **u** in the pret. plural, and **o** in the pp. (§ 23), thus:

helpan, *to help* **healp** **hulpon** **holpen**

And similarly **belgan**, *to swell with anger*; **bellan**, *to bellow*; **beteldan**, *to cover*; **delfan**, *to dig*; **meltan**, *to melt*; **swelgan**, *to swallow*; **swellan**, *to swell*; **sweltan**, *to die*. **gieldan** (§ 56), *to yield*, **geald**, **guldon**, **golden**; and similarly **giellan**, *to yell*; **gielpan**, *to boast*.

§ 342. Verbs with **lc, r** or **h** + consonant have **eo** in the present (§ 52), **ea** in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite (§ 51), **u** in the pret. plural, and **o** in the pp. (§ 23). On the verbs with the combination **weo-** in the present, see § 63.

weorpan, *to throw* **wearp** **wurpon** **worpen**

And similarly **beorcan**, *to bark*; **beorgan**, *to protect*; **ceorfan**, *to cut, carve*; **feohtan**, *to fight*; **meolcan** (late WS. also **melcan**), *to milk*; **sceorpan**, *to scrape*; **steorfan**, *to die*. **weorpan**, *to become*, **wearp**, **wurdon**, **worden** (§ 115).

NOTE.—**fēolan** from ***feolhan** (§ 76), *to enter, penetrate*, **fealh**, **fulgon** (§ 115) beside the more common form **fālon** made after the analogy of verbs of class IV, **folgen**; pret. pl. and pp. also **fūlon** from ***fulhon**, **fōlen** from ***folhen** with **h** from the present ***feolhan**.

§ 343.

bregdan , <i>to brandish</i>	brægd	brugdon	brogden
stregdan , <i>to strew</i>	strægd	strugdon	strogden
berstan , <i>to burst</i>	bærst	burston	borsten
perscan , <i>to thresh</i>	þærsc	purscon	þorscen
frignan , <i>to ask</i>	frægn	frugnon	frugnen
murnan , <i>to mourn</i>	mearn	murnon	
spurnan (spornan), <i>to</i>			
<i>spurn</i>	spearn	spurnon	spornen

NOTE.—In **bregdan** and **stregdan**, beside the forms with **g** there also occur forms with loss of **g** and lengthening of the preceding vowel, as **brēdan**, **brēd**, **brūdon**, **brōden** (§ 72). **berstan** (OHG. **brestan**) and **perscan** (OHG. **dreskan**) have metathesis of **r** (§ 143), hence the absence

of breaking in the present and the pret. singular. The *i* in *frignan* is due to the influence of the *gn*; beside *frignan* there also occurs *frinan* (§ 72) to which a new pret. sing. *frān* was formed after the analogy of verbs of class I (§ 332); beside the pret. pl. *frugnon* there also occur *frungon* with metathesis of *gn*, and *frūnon* with loss of *g* (§ 72); and beside the pp. *frugnen* there also occur *frūnen* with loss of *g*, and *frognen*. *murnan* and *spurnan* are aorist presents (§ 317).

Class IV.

§ 344. The verbs of this class belong to the fourth ablaut-series (§ 104), which includes the strong verbs whose stems end in a single liquid or nasal. They have *e* in the present, *æ* in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, *æ* in the pret. plural (but see § 45), and *o* in the pp., thus:

beran, to bear *bær* *bæron* *boren*

And similarly *cwelan*, to die; *helan*, to conceal; *stelan*, to steal; *teran*, to tear; *þweran*, to stir. *scieran*, to shear, *scear*, *scēaron*, see § 56, *scoren*.

§ 345.

cuman, to come *c(w)ōm* *c(w)ōmon* *cumen* (*cymen*)
niman, to take *nōm* *nōmon* *numen*

NOTE.—From the regular forms of the second and third pers. sing. pres. indic. *cym(e)st*, *cym(e)þ*, the *y* was often extended to other forms of the pres., especially to the pres. subjunctive, as *cyme* beside *cume*; *cuman* is an aorist present (§ 317) from **kwuman*, older **kwoman* (§§ 48, 114. 2) with regular loss of the *w*, after the analogy of which it was often dropped in the pret. pl. *cwōmon* from **kwæmun*; *c(w)ōm* for **cam*, **com* (§ 114. 2) was a new formation from the plural where the *ō* was regular; *cumen* from **kwumen*, older **kwomen*; on *cymen*, see § 290. *niman* from older **nēman* (§ 47); *nōm* was a new formation from the plural which regularly had *ō* (§ 49); beside *nōm*, *nōmon* there also occur the new formations *nam*, *nāmon*; *numen* from older **nomen* (§ 48).

Class V.

§ 346. The verbs of this class belong to the fifth ablaut-series (§ 104), which includes the strong verbs whose stems end in a single consonant other than a liquid or a nasal. They have

e in the present, æ in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, æ in the pret. plural, and e in the pp., thus :

metan, <i>to measure</i>	mæt	mæton	meten
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And similarly brecan (pp. brocen after the analogy of class IV); cnedan, *to knead*; drepan (pp. also dropen after the analogy of class IV), *to hit, kill*; screpan, *to scrape*; sprecan (late OE. specan), *to speak*; swefan, *to sleep*; tredan, *to tread*; wefan, *to weave*; wegan (pret. pl. wāgon beside wāgon, see § 45), *to carry*.

§ 347. giefan, <i>to give</i>	geaf	gēafon	giefen
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And similarly forgietan, *to forget*. See § 56.

§ 348. etan, <i>to eat</i>	æt	æton	eten
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And similarly fretan, *to devour*. These two verbs had æ in the pret. sing. already in prim. Germanic, cp. Lat. edō, *I eat*, pf. ēdī.

§ 349. cwepan, <i>to say</i>	cwæp	cwædon	cweden
wesan, <i>to be</i>	wæs	wæron	

See § 115. genesan, *to be saved*, and lesan, *to collect, gather*, extended the s of the pres. and the pret. singular to all forms.

§ 350. sēon from *seohan (§§ 52, 68), *to see*, seah, sāwon beside sāgon, sewen beside sawen with a difficult to account for; Anglian gesegen with g from the pret. plural, see § 114. 5; and similarly gefēon, *to rejoice*, gefeah, pret. pl. gefāgon; plēon, *to risk*, pret. sing. pleah.

§ 351. To this class also belong a few verbs which originally had j in the present (see §§ 21. 2, 135), as

biddan, <i>to pray</i>	bæd	bædon	beden
sittan, <i>to sit</i>	sæt	sæton	setzn
licgan, <i>to lie down</i>	læg	lægon	legen

The pret. pl. of licgan has lāgon beside lægon (see § 45). picgan, *to receive*, is a weak verb in WS. (§ 371); in poetry it has the strong forms peah (pāh), pægon, pegen. fricgan, *to ask, inquire*, with strong pp. gefrigen, gefrugen.

Class VI

§ 352. The verbs of this class belong to the sixth ablaut-series (§ 103), and have *a* in the present, *ō* in the pret. sing. and plural, and *æ* beside *a* in the pp. The regular vowel in the pp. is *æ* (cp. § 29, note 1), the forms with *a* are new formations made direct from the present and infinitive:—

faran, to go *fōr* *fōron* *færen, faren*

And similarly *alan, to grow*; *bacan, to bake*; *calan, to be cold*; *galan, to sing*; *grafan, to dig*; *hladan, to lade, load*; *sacan, to strive, quarrel*; *wacan, to awake, be born*; *wadan, to go*; *wascan, to wash*. *gnagan* (pret. sing. *gnōg* beside *gnōh* (§ 172), *to gnaw*; and similarly *dragan, to draw*. *scacan, sceacan, to shake*, *scōc, sceōc, scacen, sceacen*, see § 56, note 3; and similarly *scafan, sceafan, to shave, scrape*. *standan, to stand*, *stōd, stōdon, standen* with *n* from the present. *spannan, to allure*, pret. *spōn* beside *spēon* which was formed after the analogy of verbs of class VII.

§ 353.

slēan, to strike *slōg, slōh* *slōgon* *slægen, slagen*

slēan from **sleahan* (§§ 51, 68); *slōg* with *g* from the plural, beside *slōh, slōgon* (see § 115); beside *slægen, slagen* there also occurs *slegen* with *i*-umlaut, see § 290; and similarly *flēan, to flay*; *lēan, to blame*; *pwēan, to wash*.

§ 354. To this class also belong a few verbs which originally had *j* in the present like Goth. *hafjan, to raise*, *hlahjan, to laugh* (see §§ 57, 135):—

hebban, to raise *hōf* *hōfon* *hæfen, hafen*

hliehhan, to laugh *hlōg, hlōh* *hlōgon*

sceppan, to injure *scōd* *scōdon*

scleppan, to create *scōp* *scōpon* *sceapen*

stæppan, steppan,

to step, go

stōp

stōpon

stæpen, stapen

swerian, to swear

swōr

swōron

sworen

NOTE.—*hebban* (§ 158) has also weak pret. and pp. in late WS. (*hefde*, *hefod*); beside *hæfen* there also occurs *hefen* (§ 290). *hlōg* with *g* from the plural (§ 115) beside *hlōh*. The regular WS. form of *sceppan* would be *scieppan* (§ 56); *scōd* with *d* from *scōdon* (§ 115). On *sceapen*, see § 56. *sworen* with *o* from analogy of verbs of class IV, as in OHG. *gisworan*.

Class VII.

§ 355. To this class belong those verbs which originally had reduplicated preterites like Goth. *haihald*, *laīlōt*: inf. *haldan*, *to hold*, *lētan*, *to let*. Traces of the old reduplicated preterites have been preserved in Anglian and in poetry, viz. *hēht*, *leole*, *leort*, *ondreord*, *reord*, beside inf. *hātan*, *lācan*, *lātan*, *ondrādan*, *rādan*, see below. This class of verbs is divided into two sub-divisions according as the preterite had *ē* or *eo*. The preterite sing. and pl. have the same stem-vowel. The stem-syllable of all verbs belonging to this class is long.

Sub-division 1.

§ 356. *hātan*, *to call* *hēt* *hēton* *hāten*

And similarly *lācan*, *to play*; *scādan*, *sceādan* (§ 56, note 3), *to separate*, pret. *scēd* beside *scēad*.

§ 357. *lātan*, *to let, allow* *lēt* *lēton* *lāten*

And similarly *ondrādan* (WS. also weak pret. *ondrādde*), *to dread, fear*; *rādan* (pret. and pp. mostly weak in WS.: *rādde*, *gerādd*), *to advise*; *slāpan* (WS. also weak pret. *slāpte*), *to sleep*. *blandan*, *to mix*, pret. *blēnd*, pp. *blanden*.

§ 358. *fōn* (§ 20), *to seize*, *fēng* with *ng* from the plural, *fēngon* (§ 115), *fāngen*; and similarly *hōn*, *to hang*.

Sub-division 2.

§ 359. *bannan*, *to* *bēon(n)* *bēonnon* *bannen*
summon

And similarly *gangan* (pret. also *gīeng*), *to go*; *spannan*, *to join, clasp*.

§ 360. *fealdan* (§ 51), *fēold* *fēoldon* *fealden*
to fold

And similarly *feallan*, *to fall*; *healdan*, *to hold*; *stealdan*, *to possess*; *wealcān*, *to roll*; *wealdan*, *to rule*; *weallan*, *to boil*; *weaxan* (originally belonged to class VI), *to grow*.

§ 361. *blāwan*, *to blow* *blēow* *blēowon* *blāwen*
 (cp. § 149)

And similarly *cnāwan*, *to know*; *crāwan*, *to crow*; *māwan*, *to mow*; *sāwan*, *to sow*; *swāpan*, *to sweep*; *prāwan*, *to turn, twist*; *wāwan*, *to blow*.

§ 362. *bēatan*, *to beat* *bēot* *bēoton* *bēaten*

And similarly *āhnēapan*, *to pluck off*; *hēawan*, *to hew*; *hlēapan*, *to leap*.

§ 363. *blōtan*, *to sacrifice* *blēot* *blēoton* *blōten*

And similarly *blōwan*, *to bloom, blossom*; *hrōpan*, *to shout*; *hwōpan*, *to threaten*; *flōwan*, *to flow*; *grōwan*, *to grow*; *hlōwan*, *to low, bellow*; *rōwan* (pret. pl. *rēon* beside *rēowon*, § 68), *to row*; *spōwan*, *to succeed*; *wēpan* (Goth. *wōpjan*), *to weep*. The pret. of *flōcan*, *to clap, strike*; *swōgan*, *to sound*; *wrōtan*, *to root up*, do not occur.

B. WEAK VERBS.

§ 364. The weak verbs, which for the most part are derivative and denominative, form by far the greater majority of all OE. verbs. They are divided into three classes according to the endings of the infinitive, pret. indicative, and past participle. These endings are:—

	Inf.	Pret.	P.P.
Class I.	-an	-ede, -de, -te	-ed, -d, -t
	(Goth. -jan)	(Goth. -ida, -ta)	(Goth. -īps, -ts)
Class II.	-ian	-ode	-od
	(Goth. -ōn)	(Goth. -ōda)	(Goth. -ōps)
Class III.	-an	-de	-d
	(Goth. -an)	(Goth. -áida)	(Goth. -áīps)

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE WEAK VERBS.

§ 365. The personal endings of the pres. indicative are the same as those of strong verbs. Including the characteristic dental (-d-, -t-) the prim. Germanic endings of the pret. indicative were:—sing. -*ḡōn* (-*ḡān*), -*ḡās*, -*ḡā* (§ 80. 2); third pers. plural -*ḡun* (§ 134), which regularly became -*de*, -*des*, -*de*; -*dun* (later -*don*) in OE., see §§ 80, 85; and similarly in the combinations with -*t*- which only occurred after voiceless consonants (§ 119). The -*t* in the OE. second pers. sing. -*dest* is of the same origin as the -*t* in the present of strong verbs (§ 319). On the origin of the formation of the preterite, see *OE. Grammar*, § 520.

The endings -*e*, -*en* of the pres. and pret. subjunctive are of the same origin as in strong verbs (§§ 320, 325).

The indic. plural was used for the imperative plural just as in the strong verbs (§ 321); for the imperative singular, see the separate classes.

The present participle was declined like an ordinary *ja*-stem (§ 289), and the pp. in -*ed*, -*od* like *manig* or *hālig* according as the stem-syllable was short or long (§ 290).

Class I.

§ 366. The verbs of this class are divided into two subdivisions: (*a*) verbs which originally had a short stem-syllable; (*b*) polysyllabic verbs and those which originally had a long stem-syllable. Nearly all the verbs belonging to this class are causative and denominative.

Sub-division (*a*).

§ 367. Formation of the present stem: The present stem of verbs ending in a single consonant, except *r*, became long (except in the second and third pers. sing. pres. indicative, and second pers. sing. imperative) by the West Germanic law of the doubling of consonants (§ 135). The *j* had already disappeared in these persons before the operation of the law, for which reason they had single consonants in OE. (§ 135, note).

§ 368. Formation of the pret. and past participle: The *j*, which caused the doubling of the final consonants in the present stems, never existed in the preterite or past participle, so that these stems ended in single consonants. The pret. generally had the ending *-ede* from prim. Germanic *-iðōn*, but verbs whose present stems ended in *dd*, *tt* (= West Germanic *đj*, *tj*) had *-de*, *-te* on analogy with the verbs which originally had long stems (§ 373). On many verbs whose present stems ended in *cc*, *ll* (= West Germanic *kj*, *lj*), see § 379.

The past participle generally ended in *-ed* from older *-id*, prim. Germanic *-iðaz* from older *-iðás* = Indg. *-itós*, as *genered*, *gefremed* (cp. § 290). But in WS. and Ken. the verbs whose stems ended in *d*, *t* had vowel syncope and assimilation of consonants, as *geset(t)*, masc. acc. sing. *gesetne*, dat. *gesettum*, fem. gen. dat. sing. *gesetre*, beside Anglian *geseted*, *gesetedne*, *gesettum*, *gesetedre*; *gehred(d)* beside Anglian *gehreded*, *rescued*.

The ending *-e* (older *-i*) = prim. Germanic *-ī*, of the imperative singular regularly remained (§ 85. 3).

§ 369. The full conjugation of *nerian* (Goth. *nasjan*), *to save*; *fremman* (Goth. **framjan*), *to perform*; and *settan* (Goth. *satjan*), *to set*, will serve as models for verbs belonging to sub-division (*a*).

Present.

Indicative.

Sing. 1.	<i>nerie</i>	<i>fremme</i>	<i>sette</i>
2.	<i>neres(t)</i>	<i>fremes(t)</i>	<i>setst</i>
3.	<i>nereþ</i>	<i>fremeþ</i>	<i>set(t)</i>
Plur.	<i>neriaþ</i>	<i>fremmaþ</i>	<i>settaþ</i>

Subjunctive.

Sing.	<i>nerie</i>	<i>fremme</i>	<i>sette</i>
Plur.	<i>nerien</i>	<i>fremmen</i>	<i>setten</i>

Imperative.

Sing. 2. nere	freme	sete
Plur. 2. neriap	fremmap	settap

Infinitive.

nerian	fremman	settan
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Participle.

neriende	fremmende	settende
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Preterite.

Indicative.

Sing. 1. neredē	fremede	sette
2. neredes(t)	fremedes(t)	settes(t)
3. neredē	fremede	sette
Plur. neredon	fremedon	setton

Subjunctive.

Sing. neredē	fremede	sette
Plur. nereden	fremeden	setten

Participle.

genered	gefremed	geseted, geset(t)
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§ 370. On forms like *nergan*, *nerigan*, *nerigean*, see § 151. Like *nerian* are conjugated *andswerian*, *to answer*; *berian*, *to make bare*; *derian*, *to injure*; *erian*, *to plough*; *herian*, *to praise*; *spyrian*, *to pursue*; *werian*, *to defend*.

In late WS. many of the verbs of this type went over into class II owing to the ending of the infinitive being the same in both classes.

§ 371. Like *fremman* are conjugated *olynnan*, *to sound*; *dynnan*, *to make a noise*; *sceppan* (also sv. § 354), *to injure*; *sweppan*, *to swathe*; *temman*, *to tame*; *trymman*, *to strengthen*; *piegan* (in poetry also strong pret. *peah*, *pāh*), *to receive*; *wreppan*, *to support*.

In WS. and Ken. most of the verbs whose stems ended in **l, m, n, s, þ** were remodelled on analogy with verbs like *nerian* with single consonant, as *clynian*, *fremian*, *helian*, *to conceal*, *sweþian*, and then later often went over into class II.

§ 372. Like *settan* are conjugated *cnyttan*, *to bind, knit*; *hreddan*, *to rescue, save*; *hwettan*, *to whet, incite*; *lettan*, *to hinder*; *spryttan*, *to sprout*; and *leggan*, *to lay*.

Sub-division (δ).

§ 373. The preterite generally ended in **-de** from older **-ide**, the **i** of which caused umlaut in the stem-syllable and then disappeared (§§ 57, 98). The following points should be noted in regard to the consonants: (1) Germanic double consonants were simplified before **-de**, as *fyllan* (Goth. *fulljan*), *to fill*, pret. *fylde* (§ 145), pp. *gefylled*; (2) **þ + d** became **dd** in late WS., as *cȳpan*, *to make known*, pret. *cȳpde*, pp. *gecȳped*, later *cȳdde* (§ 142), pp. *gecȳd(d)* with **dd** from the inflected forms; (3) **-de** became **-te** after voiceless consonants (§ 140), as *cyssan*, *to kiss*, pret. *cyste*, pp. *gecyssed*; *grētan*, *to greet*, pret. *grētte*, pp. *gegrēted*; (4) the **d** in **-de** disappeared after consonant + **d** or **t** (§ 145), as *sendan*, *to send*, pret. *sende*, pp. *gesend(ed)*; *fæstan*, *to make fast*, pret. *fæste*, pp. *gefæst(ed)*.

Verbs which would regularly have vocalic **l, n, r** in the pret. generally have **-ede**, especially in the combination long syllable + **l, n, r**, as *hyngran*, *to hunger*, *dieglan*, *to hide*, pret. *hyngrede*, *dieglede* (§ 97); but in the combination short syllable + **l, n, r** they generally had **-de** in the oldest period of the language, and then later **-ede**, as *eglan*, *to trouble*, pret. *egldē* beside later *eglede*; the verbs of this type often went over into class II.

The uninflected form of the past participle generally ended in **-ed** from older **-id** just as in sub-division (a). In those cases where the **e** was regularly syncopated (§ 98), the same consonantal changes took place as in the preterite, as gen. sing. *gefyldes*, *gedrenctes*, *gesendes*, *gegrēttes*, *gefæstes*, &c. beside

nom. sing. *gefylled*, *gedrenced*, *gesend(ed)*, *gegrēt(ed)*, *ge-
fæst(ed)*. See § 290.

On the loss or retention of the final *-e* (older *-i*) from prim. Germanic *-ī* in the imperative singular, see § 85. 3.

§ 374. The full conjugation of *dēman* (Goth. *dōmjan*), *to judge*, *drencan* (Goth. *dragkjan*), *to submerge*, *hynggran* (Goth. *huggrjan*), *to hunger*, and *gierwan* from **gearwjan*, *to prepare*, will serve as models for verbs belonging to sub-division (*b*).

Present.

Indicative.

Sing. 1.	<i>dēme</i>	<i>drence</i>	<i>hyngre</i>	<i>gierwe</i>
2.	<i>dēm(e)st</i>	<i>drenc(e)st</i>	<i>hyngrest</i>	<i>gierest</i>
3.	<i>dēm(e)þ</i>	<i>drenc(e)þ</i>	<i>hyngreþ</i>	<i>giereþ</i>
Plur.	<i>dēmaþ</i>	<i>drencaþ</i>	<i>hyngraþ</i>	<i>gierwaþ</i>

Subjunctive.

Sing.	<i>dēme</i>	<i>drence</i>	<i>hyngre</i>	<i>gierwe</i>
Plur.	<i>dēmen</i>	<i>drencen</i>	<i>hyngren</i>	<i>gierwen</i>

Imperative.

Sing. 2.	<i>dēm</i>	<i>drenc</i>	<i>hyngre</i>	<i>giere</i>
Plur. 2.	<i>dēmaþ</i>	<i>drencaþ</i>	<i>hyngraþ</i>	<i>gierwaþ</i>

Infinitive.

<i>dēman</i>	<i>drencan</i>	<i>hynggran</i>	<i>gierwan</i>
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Participle.

<i>dēmende</i>	<i>drencende</i>	<i>hyngrende</i>	<i>gierwende</i>
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Preterite.

Indicative.

Sing. 1.	<i>dēmde</i>	<i>drencte</i>	<i>hyngrede</i>	<i>gierede</i>
2.	<i>dēmdes(t)</i>	<i>drenctes(t)</i>	<i>hyngredes(t)</i>	<i>gieredes(t)</i>
3.	<i>dēmde</i>	<i>drencte</i>	<i>hyngrede</i>	<i>gierede</i>
Plur.	<i>dēmdon</i>	<i>drencton</i>	<i>hyngredon</i>	<i>gieredon</i>

Subjunctive.

Sing.	dēmde	drencte	hyngrede	gierede
Plur.	dēmden	drencten	hyngreden	giereden

Participle.

gedēmed gedrenced gehyngred gegier(w)ed

§ 375. Like *dēman* are conjugated a large number of verbs, as *ālan*, to set on fire; *bærnan*, to burn up; *brādan*, to broaden; *byrgan*, to bury; *cēlan*, to cool; *cemban*, to comb; *dālan*, to share; *fēdan*, to feed; *fylgan*, to follow; *giēman*, to heed; *giernan*, to desire, yearn for; *hālan*, to heal; *hieran*, to hear; *hȳdan*, to hide; *lādan*, to lead; *lāfan*, to leave; *lāran*, to teach; *mānan*, to moan; *rāran*, to raise; *seengan*, to singe; *stieran*, to steer; *tāsan*, to pull, tear. The contracted verbs, as *hēan* (pret. *hēade*, pp. *hēad*), to heighten, raise; and similarly *tȳn*, to teach; *pȳn* (also in form *pȳwan*), to press. *oȳpan* (pret. *cȳpde*, later *cȳdde*), to make known; and similarly *owīpan*, to lament; *sēpan*, to testify. *fyllan* (pret. *fylde*), to fill; and similarly *āfierran*, to remove; *clyppan*, to embrace; *cyssan* (pret. *cyste*), to kiss; *fiellan*, to fell. *ieldan* (pret. *ielde*), to delay, *sendan* (pret. *sende*), to send, *gyrdan* (pret. *gyrde*), to gird; and similarly *gyldan*, to gild; *wieldan*, to control, subdue; *bendan*, to bend; *wendan*, to turn; *andwyrdan*, to answer; *hierdan*, to harden. *fæstan* (pret. *fæste*), to make fast; and similarly *āfyrhtan*, to frighten; *hiertan*, to hearten, encourage; *liehtan*, to give light; *restan*, to rest; *pyrstan*, to thirst.

§ 376. Like *drencean* are conjugated *ācwencan*, to quench; *bētan*, to atone for; *cēpan*, to keep; *grētan*, to greet; *hātan*, to heat; *mētan*, to meet; *sencan*, to cause to sink; *wātan*, to wet; *wȳscan*, to wish.

§ 377. Like *hyngnan* are conjugated *bīecnan*, to make a sign; *dieglan*, to conceal; *timbran*, to build; &c. *efnan* (pret. *efnde*, later *efnede*), to level, perform; and similarly *bytlan*, to build;

eglan, to trouble, afflict; *seglan*, to sail; *prysman*, to suffocate. The verbs of this type often went over into class II (cp. § 100).

§ 378. *gierest*, *giereþ*, *gierede* from older **gierwis*, **gierwiþ*, **gierwide* with regular loss of *w* (§ 144). At a later period the verbs of this type mostly generalized the forms with or without *w*, and often went over into class II. The verbs with a long vowel or long diphthong in the stem generally had *w* in all forms of the verb. Like *gierwan* are conjugated *hierwan*, to despise, ill-treat; *nierwan*, to constrain; *smierwan*, to anoint, smear. *lāwan* (pret. *lāwde*), to betray; and similarly *forslāwan*, to delay, be slow; *getriewan*, to trust; *iewan*, to show, disclose.

§ 379. A certain number of verbs belonging to class I formed their preterite and past participle already in prim. Germanic without the medial vowel -i-, as *byegan* (Goth. *bugjan*), to buy, pret. *bohte* (Goth. *baúhta*), pp. *geboht* (Goth. *baúhts*), whence the absence of i-umlaut in the pret. and pp. of verbs of this type. In addition to a few verbs which had long stems originally, they embrace verbs whose present stems end in *œ*, *ll* from West Germanic *kj* and *lj* (§ 135). On the interchange between *c*, *œ* from *kj*, *cg* from *gj*, and *h*, see § 119. At a later period the pret. and pp. of verbs with -*œcc*- in the present were re-formed with *œ* from the present, as *cweccan*, *cwehte*, *gecweht*; and similarly *rācan*, *tācan*, generally had pret. *rāhte*, *tāhte* with *ā* from the present, beside the regular forms *rāhte*, *tāhte*. The verbs with *ll* in the present often formed the pret. and pp. on analogy with the verbs of sub-division (a) especially in late OE., as *dwelede*, -ode, beside *dwealde*. Beside *sellan* (Goth. *saljan*) there also occurs *siellan* (later *syllan*) from **sealljan* with *ea* borrowed from the pret. and pp. in prehistoric OE. *bringan*, to bring, is the strong form (cp. § 340); the regular weak form *brengan* is rare in OE.

byegan, to buy
cweccan, to shake
dreccan, to afflict

bohte
cweahte
dreahte

geboht
gecweaht
gedreaht

læccan, <i>to moisten</i>	leahte	geleaht
reccan, <i>to narrate</i>	reahte	gereahht
streccan, <i>to stretch</i>	streahte	gestreaht
þeccan, <i>to cover</i>	þeahte	geþeaht
weccan, <i>to awake</i>	weahte	geweaht
cwellan, <i>to kill</i>	cwealde	gecweald
dwellan, <i>to hinder</i>	dwealde	gedweald
sellan, <i>to sell</i>	sealde	geseald
stellan, <i>to place</i>	stealde	gesteald
tellan, <i>to count</i>	tealde	geteald
ræcan, <i>to reach</i>	ræhte, rāhte	geræht
tæcan, <i>to teach</i>	tæhte, tāhte	getæht, getāht
sæcan, <i>to seek</i>	sōhte	gesōht
bringan, <i>to bring</i>	brōhte	gebrōht
þencan, <i>to think</i>	þōhte	geþōht
þyncan, <i>to seem</i>	þūhte	geþūht
wyrcan, <i>to work</i>	worhte	geworht

NOTE.—The presents *reccan* for **ræcan* (pret. *ræhte*), *to care for, reckon*; and *læccan* for **læcan* (pret. *læhte*, pp. *gelæht*), *to seize*, are difficult to account for.

2. Especially in late OE. verbs with medial *c*, *cc* often formed their pret. and pp. in *-hte*, *-ht* after the analogy of the above type of verbs, but with the retention of *i*-umlant, as *bepæcan*, *to deceive*, *bepæhte*, *bepæht*, beside older *bepæcte*, *bepæct*; and similarly *gewæcan*, *to weaken*; *ïcan*, *to increase*; *nēalæcan*, *to approach*; *ōleccan*, *to flatter*; *sȳcan*, *to suckle*; *prȳccan*, *to press, crush*; *wlēccan*, *to warm*.

Class II.

§ 380. With the exception of a few primary verbs all the verbs belonging to this class are denominative. The primary verbs had originally no *-j-* in the forms of the present. The denominative verbs were originally all formed from nouns belonging to the Germanic *ō*-declension (§ 211), and had *-j-* in all forms of the present. The two types of conjugation became blended together in prehistoric OE. in such a manner that all

forms of both denominative and primary verbs came to have -j- in the present except the second and third pers. sing. indicative and the imperative singular. The -ōj- regularly became -i- (§ 94. 3) which not being original did not cause i-umlaut of the stem-syllable, whence the forms: indic. **sealfie**, **sealfiap**; subj. **sealfie**, **sealfien**; inf. **sealfian**; participle **sealfiende**; but **sealfas(t)**, **sealfap**; imperative sing. **sealfa**. The -i- was often written -ig-, also -ige- before guttural vowels, as **sealfigan**, **sealfigean** beside **sealfian**. The ending -a in the imperative singular was from **sealfas(t)**; a form corresponding to Goth. **salbō** would have become in OE. ***sealf** from older ***sealbu** (§ 85. 1). The medial -ō- in the pret. indic. and subjunctive was regularly shortened to -u- in prehistoric OE. (§ 99) and then later became -o-, -a-, the former of which is usual in WS. and the latter in Anglian and Ken. On -e- beside -o-, -a- in the indic. pret. plural, see § 100. And similarly in the pp. WS. -od, Anglian and Ken. -ad.

A large number of the verbs which originally belonged to class III went over into this class in prehistoric OE.

The full conjugation of **sealfian**, *to anoint*, will serve as a model for the verbs of this class.

Present.

	Indic.	Subj.	Imper.
Sing. 1.	sealfie	sealfie	
2.	sealfas(t)	„	sealfa
3.	sealfap	„	
Plur.	sealfiap	sealfien	sealfiap

Infinitive.

sealfian

Participle.

sealfiende

Preterite.

	Indic.	Subj.
Sing. 1.	sealfode	sealfode
2.	sealfodes(t)	„
3.	sealfode	„
Plur.	sealfodon	sealfoden

*Participle.**gesealfod*

§ 381. Like *sealfian* are conjugated a large number of verbs, as *ācealdian*, to become cold; *āscian*, to ask; *behōfian*, to have need of; *bletsian*, to bless; *cēapian*, to buy; *clēnsian*, to cleanse; *dysigian*, to be foolish; *earnian*, to earn; *endian*, to end; *fæstnian*, to fasten; *folgian*, to follow; *grāpian*, to grope; *hālgian*, to hallow; *hangian*, to hang; *hatian*, to hate; *hergian* (cp. § 370), to harry; *hopian*, to hope; *langian*, to long for; *lēasian*, to tell lies; *lician*, to please; *lōcian*, to look; *losian*, to lose; *lufian*, to love; *macian*, to make; *offrian*, to offer; *scamian*, to be ashamed; *sorgian*, to sorrow; *sparian*, to spare; *pancian*, to thank; *wacian*, to be awake; *wandrian*, to wander; *wundian*, to wound; *wundrian*, to wonder.

On the second and third pers. sing. pres. indic., imperative sing., and pret. indic. of verbs like *bifian*, to tremble; *clifian*, to adhere, cleave; *stician*, to prick, stab, see § 59.

twēogan, Anglian *twīogan*, from **twiχōjan* (§§ 53, 68), to doubt; pres. indic. *twēoge*, *twēost*, *twēop*; pres. part. *twēonde* (poetical) beside *twēogende*; pret. indic. *twēode*, Anglian *twīode*; pp. *twēod*. And similarly in WS. the following verbs which originally belonged to class III: *fēog(e)an*, to hate; *frēog(e)an*, to love, make free; *smēag(e)an*, to ponder, consider; and *prēag(e)an*, to reprove, rebuke.

Class III.

§ 382. Nearly all the verbs of this class were originally primary verbs of which there were two types in prim. Germanic:

(1) Verbs which had -*ǣj*- throughout the present, and -*ǣi*- in the preterite and past participle. This type was best preserved in Goth. and OHG., but not at all in OE. (2) Verbs which had -*j*- in the present first pers. singular, and third pers. plural and in the infinitive, but no medial vowel in the preterite and past participle, which accounts for the absence of *i*-umlaut in these forms. This type was well preserved in OE. and OS. Of the many verbs which originally belonged to this class OE. only preserved *habban*, *to have*, *libban*, *to live*, *secgan*, *to say*, *hycgan*, *to think*, and traces of a few others, see note 2.

Present.

Indicative.

Sing. 1.	<i>hæbbe</i>	<i>libbe</i>	<i>secge</i>	<i>hycge</i>
2.	{ <i>hafas(t)</i> <i>hæfst</i>	<i>lio fas(t)</i>	{ <i>sagas(t)</i> <i>sægst</i>	{ <i>hogas(t)</i> <i>hyg(e)st</i>
3.	{ <i>hafap</i> <i>hæfp</i>	<i>lio fap</i>	{ <i>sagap</i> <i>sægþ</i>	{ <i>hogap</i> <i>hyg(e)þ</i>
Plur.	<i>habbaþ</i>	<i>libbaþ</i>	<i>secg(e)aþ</i>	<i>hycg(e)aþ</i>

Subjunctive.

Sing.	<i>hæbbe</i>	<i>libbe</i>	<i>secge</i>	<i>hycge</i>
Plur.	<i>hæbben</i>	<i>libben</i>	<i>secgen</i>	<i>hycgen</i>

Imperative.

Sing. 2.	<i>hafa</i>	<i>lio fa</i>	<i>saga, sæge</i>	<i>hoga, hyge</i>
Plur. 2.	<i>habbaþ</i>	<i>libbaþ</i>	<i>secg(e)aþ</i>	<i>hycg(e)aþ</i>

Infinitive.

<i>habban</i>	<i>libban</i>	<i>secg(e)an</i>	<i>hycg(e)an</i>
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Participle.

<i>hæbbende</i>	<i>libbende</i>	<i>secgende</i>	<i>hycgende</i>
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Preterite.

Indicative.

Sing. 1.	hæfde	lifde	sægde	hogde
2.	hæfdes(t)	lifdes(t)	sægdes(t)	hogdes(t)
3.	hæfde	lifde	sægde	hogde
Plur.	hæfdon	lifdon	sægdon	hogdon

Subjunctive.

Sing.	hæfde	lifde	sægde	hogde
Plur.	hæfden	lifden	sægden	hogden

Participle.

gehæfd	gelifd	gesægd	gehogod
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NOTE. 1.—The endings **-as(t)**, **-ap** of the second and third pers. sing. pres. indicative, and **-a** of the imperative sing., were from verbs of class II. The regular form of **hæbbe** would be ***hæbbe** (OS. **hebbiu**) from West Germanic ***habbjō**, but the **a** of the second and third pers. sing. was extended to the first and then **a** became **æ** by i-umlaut, cp. § 58 and notes. On the **æ** beside **a** in the second and third pers. singular, see §§ 29, 30. **hafas(t)**, **hafap** are rare in pure WS., the usual forms are **hæfst**, **hæfþ**; and similarly with **sægst**, **sægþ**; **hyg(ē)st**, **hyg(ē)þ**. **habbap**, **habban** (West Germanic ***habbjanþ**, ***habbjan**, OS. **hebbiad**, **hebbian**, § 135) had the **a** in the stem-syllable from **hafas(t)**, **hafap**.

libbe (OS. **libbiu**), **libban** (OS. **libbian**), from West Germanic ***libbjō**, ***libbjanan**. Beside **libban** there was also **liflan**, common in Anglian and Ken., which was inflected like **sealfian** (§ 380) in the present. On the **io** in **liofas(t)** and **liofap**, see § 59. 2.

secge (OS. **sæggiu**), **secg(e)an** (OS. **sëggian**), from West Germanic ***saggjō**, ***saggjanan**. In the present the **e** as in **secge**, **secg(e)an** was often extended to forms which regularly had **æ**, and vice versa. In late WS. the **e** was extended to all forms of the present. On forms like pret. **sæde** beside **sægde**, see § 72.

On the **y** in **hyg(e)an** beside the **o** in **hogde**, see § 23. In the pret. this verb was also inflected like class II, **hogode**, &c.; cp. also the past participle **gehogod** for ***gehogd**.

2. Traces of the old inflexion of verbs which originally belonged to class III are seen in such forms as **bȳa** (Nth.), *to dwell*, **fylg(e)an**, *to follow*, **onscynian** (Anglian), *to shun*, **wæccende**, *being awake*, beside **būan**, **folgian**, **onscunian**, **waciende**; **hettend**, *enemy*, beside **hatian**, *to hate*; pret. **plægde**, **trūde**, beside **plagode**, *he played*, **trūwian**, *to trust*.

C. MINOR GROUPS.

A. PRETERITE-PRESENTS.

§ 383. These verbs were originally unreduplicated strong perfects which acquired a present meaning like Gr. *οἶδα* = OE. *wāt*, *I know*. In prim. Germanic a new weak preterite, an infinitive, a present participle, and in some verbs a strong past participle, were formed. They are inflected in the present like the preterite of strong verbs, except that the second pers. singular has the same stem-vowel as the first and third persons, and has preserved the old ending -t (§ 324). It should be noted that the ending of the weak past participles of verbs belonging to the preterite-presents goes back to Indg. -tós, and not -itós as in the first class of weak verbs (§ 368). This is no doubt the reason why the preterites do not have the medial -i- which is found in the preterites and past participles of the first class of weak verbs, as *nerede* (Goth. *nasida*), *I saved*, *genered* (Goth. *nasips*); and similarly with the preterites like *bohte* (Goth. *baūhta*), *I bought*, *pōhte* (Goth. *pāhta*), *I thought*, and the past participles, see § 379.

The following verbs, many of which are defective, belong to this class :—

§ 384.

I. Ablaut-Series.

wāt, *I know*, *he knows*, 2. sing. *wāst* (§ 119), pl. *witon* beside *wioton*, *wieton* (§ 59. 1), *wuton* (§ 63); subj. *wite*, pl. *witen*; imperative *wite*, pl. *witaþ* with -aþ from the pres. indic. 3. pers. pl. of other verbs (§ 319); inf. *witan* beside *wiotan*, *wietan* (§ 59. 2); pres. part. *witende* beside *weotende*; pret. *wisse* beside *wiste* (§ 119), pl. *wisson* beside *wiston*; pp. *gewiten*; participial adj. *gewiss*, *certain*. On forms like *nāt* beside *ne wāt*, see § 144.

§ 385.

II. Ablaut-Series.

dēag (Anglian **dēg**) beside **dēah** (§ 172), *I avail, he avails*; pl. **dugon**; subj. **dyge** beside the more common form **duge** (§ 325); inf. **dugan**; pres. part. **dugende**; pret. **dohte** (§ 23).

§ 386.

III. Ablaut-Series.

an(n), **on(n)**, *I grant, he grants*; pl. **unnon**; subj. **unne**; imperative **unne**; inf. **unnan**; pres. part. **unnende**; pret. **ūpe** (§ 73), pl. **ūpon**; pp. **geunnen**.

can(n), **con(n)**, *I know, can*, 2. sing. **canst**, **const** with -st from forms like **dearst**, pl. **cunnon**; subj. **cunne**, pl. **cunnen**; inf. **cunnan**; pret. **cūpe** (Goth. **kunþa**), pl. **cūpon**; pp. -**cunnen**; participial adj. **cūp** (Goth. **kunþs**), *known*.

pearf, *I need, he needs*, 2. sing. **pearft**, pl. **purfon**; subj. **pyrfe** beside the more common form **purfe** (§ 325); inf. **purfan**; pres. part. **purfende** beside participial adj. **pearfende** (formed from **pearf**), *needy*; pret. **porfte**, pl. **porfton**.

dear(r) (Goth. **ga-dars**), *I dare, he dares*, with **rr** from the plural, 2. sing. **dearst**, pl. **durron** with **rr** from Germanic **rz** by Verner's law (§ 115): subj. **dyrre** beside the more common form **durre** (§ 325); pret. **dorste**, pl. **dorston**.

§ 387.

IV. Ablaut-Series.

sceal, *I shall, owe*, 2. sing. **scealt**, 3. sing. **sceal**, pl. **sculon** beside **sceolon** (cp. § 56, note 4); subj. **scyle**, later **scule**, **sceole**, pl. **scylen**, **sculen**, **sceolen**; inf. **sculan**, **sceolan**; pret. **sc(e)olde**, pl. **sc(e)oldon**.

man, **mon**, *I think, he thinks*, 2. sing. **manst**, **monst** with -st from forms like **dearst**, pl. **munon**; subj. **myne** beside the more common form **mune** (§ 325), pl. **munen**; imperative -**mun** beside -**myne**, -**mune**; inf. **munan**; pret. **munde** (Goth. **mun-da**); pp. **gemunen**.

§ 388.

V. Ablaut-Series.

mæg, *I, he can*, 2. sing. **meaht** later **miht**, pl. **magon**; subj. **mæge**, pl. **mægen**; inf. **magan**; pres. part. **magende**; pret.

meahte, mehte, later mihte ; participial adj. *meaht later miht, mighty, powerful.*

be-neah (Goth. *bi-nah*), *ge-neah* (Goth. *ga-nah*), *it suffices*, pl. *-nugon* ; subj. *-nuge* ; inf. *-nugan* ; pret. *-nohte* (§ 23).

§. 389.

VI. Ablaut-Series.

mōt, I, he may, 2. sing. *mōst* (§ 119), pl. *mōton* ; subj. *mōte*, pl. *mōten* ; pret. *mōste* (§ 119), pl. *mōston*.

§ 390. The following verb probably belonged originally to the seventh class of strong verbs (§ 355): *āg* beside *āh* (§ 172), *I have, he has*, 2. sing. *āhst* with *-st* from forms like *dearst*, pl. *āgon* ; subj. *āge*, pl. *āgen* ; imperative *āge* ; inf. *āgan* ; pret. *āhte*, pl. *āhton* ; pp. *āgen, ægen* (§ 290), *own*.

B. VERBS IN *-mi*.

§ 391. The first pers. sing. pres. indicative of the Indg. verb ended either in *-ō* or *-mi* (cp. Gr. verbs in *-ω* and *-μι*, like *φέρω, I bear, δίδωμι, I give*). To the verbs in *-ō* belong all the regular Germanic verbs ; of the verbs in *-mi* only scanty remains have been preserved. Here belong the following OE. verbs :

§ 392.

I. THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB.

The full conjugation of this verb is made up out of several distinct roots, viz. *es-* ; *er-* (perfect stem-form *or-*) ; *bheu-* (weak grade form *bhw-*) ; and *wes-*. From *es-* and *or-* were formed a pres. indicative and subjunctive ; from *bhw-* a pres. indicative (also with future meaning), pres. subjunctive, imperative, infinitive, and present participle ; and from *wes-* an infinitive, present participle, imperative, and a pret. indicative and subjunctive.

Present.

	WS.	Anglian.	WS.	Anglian.
Sing. 1.	eom	eam, am	bio, bēo	bīom
2.	eart	earp, arp	bist	bis(t)
3.	is	is	bip	bip
Plur.	{ sint sindon, -un	{ sint, sind sindon, -un earon, aron, -un	{ biop, bēop	{ biop bi(o)pon, -un

Subjunctive.

Sing.	sīe, sī	sīe	bīo, bēo
Plur.	sīen, sīn	sīen	bīon, bēon

Imperative.

Sing.	bīo, bēo	wes
Plur.	biop, bēop	wesap

Infinitive.

bīon, bēon	wesan
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Participle.

bīonde, bēonde	wesende
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Preterite.

Indic. wæs, wære, wæs, pl. wæron (§ 349)

Subj. wære, pl. wæren

NOTE.—Pres. indicative: eom was the unaccented form of **ēom* with *ēo* from *bēo* (cp. the opposite process in Anglian *bīom*); the regular form would have been **im* = Goth. *im*; eart, earp, arp, and pl. earon, aron are old perfects from the root *er-*, perfect stem-form *or-*, prim. Germanic *ar-*, of which nothing further is known; on the *-p* in earp, arp, see § 324; is with loss of *-t* from older **ist* = Goth. *ist*, Lat. *est*; sind from prim. Germanic **sindī* = Indg. **sénti*; sint was the unaccented form of *sind*; sindon, -un, with the ending of the pret. pl. added on (§ 324); beside *sint*, *sindon* there also occur in WS. *sient*, *siendon*. *bīo* later *bēo* (cp.

§ 69), from *biju, Indg. *bhwǵjō, Lat. fiō; Anglian biom with m from eom; bist from older bis, Indg. *bhwǵsi, Lat. fis; bip from older *bipi, Indg. *bhwǵti, Lat. fit; Anglian biopon with u-umlaut (cp. § 59. 1) was a new formation from bip; biōp from *bijanpi.

Pres. subjunctive: siē, sien later sī (OS. OHG. sī), sīn (OS. OHG. sīn), beside sīo, sēo with iō, ēo from biō, bēo.

§ 393.

2. THE VERB dōn, to do.

Present.

	Indic.	Subj.	Imper.
Sing. 1.	dō	dō	
2.	dēst	„	dō
3.	dēp	„	
Plur.	dōp	dōn	dōp

Infinitive dōn

Participle dōnde

Preterite.

	Indic.	Subj.
Sing. 1.	dyde	dyde
2.	dydes(t)	„
3.	dyde	„
Plur.	dydon	dyden

Participle gedōn

NOTE.—Anglian has the older form dōm for the first pers. singular; dēst, Nth. dōes(t); dēp, Nth. dōep, dōes, from *dō-is, *dō-ip (§ 57); dōp from *dō-anpi; Anglian often has longer forms in the present, as imper. dōa, dōap, inf. dōa(n). The y from older u in the pret. indic. and subj. is of obscure origin; in poetry there occurs the real old pret. pl. indic. dēdon, corresponding to OS. dādun, OHG. tātun. Pret. subj. dyde, dyden from *dudi-, *dudin (cf. § 325); beside dyde there also occurs in poetry dēde, corresponding to OS. dādi, OHG. tāti. Beside the pp. -dōn there also occurs in poetry -dēn, Nth. -dōen (§ 290).

§ 394. 3. THE VERB *gān*, *to go*.*Present.*

	Indic.	Subj.	Imper.
Sing. 1.	<i>gā</i>	<i>gā</i>	
2.	<i>gāst</i>	„	<i>gā</i>
3.	<i>gāþ</i>	„	
Plur.	<i>gāþ</i>	<i>gān</i>	<i>gāþ</i>

Infinitive *gān*. Past participle *gegān*.

NOTE.—*gāst*, *gāþ*, from older **zā-is*, **zā-ip* (§ 57). The pret. indic. and subjunctive were supplied by *ēode* from older **iode* which is a defective verb inflected like the pret. of *nerian* (§ 369).

§ 395. 4. THE VERB *willan*, *will*.

The present tense of this verb was originally an optative (subjunctive) form of a verb in *-mi*, which already in prim. Germanic came to be used indicatively. To this was formed in OE. a new infinitive, present participle, and weak preterite.

Present.

	Indic.	Subj.	Infin.
Sing. 1.	<i>wille</i>	<i>wille, wile</i>	<i>willan</i>
2.	<i>wilt</i>	„	
3.	<i>wile, wille</i>	„	Participle <i>willende</i>
Plur.	<i>willap</i>	<i>willen</i>	

NOTE.—The pret. indic. and subjunctive *wolde* was inflected like the pret. of *nerian* (§ 369). *wilt* was a new formation with *-t* from the preterite-present verbs, cp. OHG. *wili*, Goth. *wileis*, Lat. *velis*; *wile*, indic. and subj. = Goth. OHG. *wili*, Lat. *velit*; *willap* was a new formation with the ordinary ending of the pres. indic. (§ 319), the old form was preserved in Goth. *wilein-a* = Lat. *velint*. The various forms of this verb often underwent contraction with the negative particle *ne*, as *nille*, *nylle*, *nelle* (especially in late WS.), pret. *nolde*.

CHAPTER XIII

ADVERBS, PREPOSITIONS, AND CONJUNCTIONS

I. ADVERBS.

§ 396. The *-e*, generally used to form adverbs from adjectives, is originally a locative ending and is identical with the *-e* (= prim. Germanic *-ai*, § 89) in the instrumental case of adjectives (§ 271). Examples are: *dēope*, *deeply*: *dēop*; *nearwe*, *narrowly*: *nearu*, *-o* (cp. § 282); *yf(e)le*, *wickedly*: *yfel*; and similarly *bit(e)re*, *bitterly*; *gearwe*, *completely*; *georne*, *eagerly*; *rihte*, *rightly*; *sōpe*, *truly*; *ungemete*, *excessively*; &c.

When the adjective ends in *-e* (§ 280) the adverb and adjective are alike in form, as *blīpe*, *joyfully*: *blīpe*, *joyful*. A few adverbs, the corresponding adjective of which did not originally belong to the *ja-* or *i-*declension, do not have umlaut in the stem-syllable, as *ange*, *anxiously*, *smōpe*, *smoothly*, *sōfte*, *gently*, *softly*, *swōte*, *sweetly*, beside the adjectives *enge*, *smēpe*, *sēfte*, *swēte*.

In adverbs like *frēondlice*, *kindly*; *loflice*, *gloriously*, which were regularly formed from adjectives ending in *-lic*, the *-lice* came to be regarded as an adverbial ending, and was then used in forming adverbs from adjectives which did not end in *-lic*, as *eornostlice*, *earnestly*; *stearclice*, *vigorously*; &c.

§ 397. The adverbial ending in the other Germanic languages, as Goth. *-ō*, OS. OHG. *-o*, goes back to an original ablative ending *-ōd* which regularly became *-a* in OE. (§ 85). This *-a* was only preserved in a few isolated forms, as *sōna*, *soon*; *twiwa*, *twice*; and in a few adverbs ending in *-inga*, *-unga*, *-linga*, *-lunga*, as *eallunga*, *-inga*, *entirely*; *unwēnunga* (Goth. *unwēniggō*), *unexpectedly*; *stierninga*, *sternly*; *grundlunga*, *-linga*, *to the ground, completely*.

§ 398. The comparative and superlative degrees of the adverbs in -e generally ended in -or and -ost, as *earme*, *wretchedly*, *earmor*, *earmost*; *strange*, *violently*, *strangor*, *strangost*.

§ 399. A certain number of adverbs had originally -iz (Goth. -is, -s, cp. the -is in Lat. *magis*, *more*) in the comparative and -ist (Goth. -ist, -st), rarely -ōst, in the superlative (cp. § 291), as *ēape*, *easily*, *īep* from **aupiz*, *ēapost*; *feorr*, *far*, *fierr* from **ferriz*, *fierrest*; *lange*, *long*, *leng* from **langiz*, *lengest*; *sōfte*, *softly*, *sēft* from **samftiz*; *tulge*, *strongly*, *firmlly*, *tylg* from **tulgiz*, *tylgest*; *ær* from **airiz* (Goth. *áiris*), *earlier*, *formerly*; *sīp* from **sīpiz* (Goth. *pana-seips*, *further*, *more*), *later*. The following form their comparative and superlative from a different word than the positive:—*lýt*, *lýtle*, *little*, *lās* from **laisiz*, *lāest*; *micle*, *much*, *mā* (Goth. *máis*, Anglian *mā*), *māest*; *wel*, *well*, comp. *bet* from **batiz*, with loss of -e after the analogy of comparatives with long stems, beside *sēl* from **sōliz*, superl. *betst*, *sēlest*; *yf(e)le*, *badly*, *wretchedly*, *wier̥s*, *wyrs*, from **wirsiz* (Goth. *waírs*, OHG. *wirs*), *wierrest*, *wyrrest*, *wyrst*.

§ 400. A large number of adverbs consist of the various cases of nouns and adjectives used adverbially:—

Acc. sing.: *ealne weg*, *ealneg*, *always*; *eall tela*, *quite well*; *fela*, *feola*, *very much*; *ungefyrn*, *not long ago*.

Gen. sing.: *dæges*, *daily*, *by day*; *hū gēares*, *at what time of year*; *orþances*, *heedlessly*; *willes*, *willingly*. The -es was sometimes extended to fem. nouns, as *nīedes*, *of necessity*, *needs*; *nihtes*, *at night*, *by night*. *ealles*, *entirely*, *wholly*; *sōpes*, *truly*, *verily*; *hāmweardes*, *homewards*. A preposition was sometimes prefixed to the gen., as *tō-æfenes*, *till evening*; *in-stæpes*, *instantly*, *at once*.

Gen. pl.: *gēara*, *of yore*, *formerly*; *ungēara*, *not long ago*, *recently*.

Dat. and instrumental sing.: *bearhtme*, *instantly*; *niede*, *of need*, *necessarily*; *recene*, *instantly*, *at once*. *dæg-hwām*, *daily*; *wrāpum*, *fiercely*.

Dat. pl.: *dæg-tīdum*, *by day*; *hwīlum*, *sometimes*; *spēdum*,

speedily; *wundrum*, *wonderfully*; *dælmælum*, *piecemeal*; *stund-mælum*, *gradually*.

By nouns, &c., in conjunction with prepositions, as *æt-gædere*, *together*; *be ungewyrhtum*, *undeservedly*; *in-stede*, *at once*; *on scipwisan*, *like a ship*; *onweg*, *away*; *tō-morgen*, *to-morrow*; *underbæc*, *backwards*; *wiþinnan*, *within*.

§ 401. The following are the chief adverbs of place:

<i>Rest.</i>	<i>Motion towards.</i>	<i>Motion from.</i>
feorr(an), <i>far, afar</i>	feorr	feorran
foran, <i>fore, before</i>	forþ	foran
hēr, <i>here</i>	hider	hionan
hindan, <i>behind</i>	hinder	hindan
hwær, <i>where</i>	hwider	hwanon
inne, innan, <i>within</i>	in(n)	innan
nēah, <i>near</i>	nēar	nēan
niopan, <i>beneath</i>	niþer	niopan
þær, <i>there</i>	þider	þanan, þonan
uppe, <i>up, above</i>	up(p)	uppan
ūte, ūtan, <i>outside</i>	ūt	ūtan

sūþ, *southwards*; sūpan, *from the south*; and similarly ēast, *east*; eastan; norþ, norþan; *west, westan*; æftan, *from behind*; ufan, *from above*; ūtane, *from without*; wīdan, *from far*. æghwær, æghwider, gehwær, *everywhere, in all directions*; æghwanon, *from all parts*; āhwær, āwer, ōwer, *anywhere*; āhwanon, *from anywhere*; nāhwær, nāwer, nower, *nowhere*; welhwær, welgehwær, gewelhwær, *nearly everywhere*; hider-geond, *thither*; hidres pidres, *hither and thither*.

§ 402.

2. PREPOSITIONS.

(1) With the accusative: *geond*, *throughout, during*; *geondan*, *beyond*; *underneopan*, *underneath, below*; *wiþgeondan*, *beyond*; *ymb*, *around, about, at*; *ymbūtan*, *around, about*; *oþ* (more rarely dat.), *to, up to, as far as, until*; *purh* (more rarely dat. or gen.), *through, during*.

(2) With the genitive: *andlang, andlanges, alongside.*

(3) With the dative: *æfter, behind, after, along, during, through, according to, in consequence of; ær, before; ætforan, before, in the presence of; bī (be), also with instr., by, along, in; bæftan, behind; beheonan, on this side of; beneoþan, beneath, below; binnan, within, in, into; ēac, in addition to, besides; fram (from), also with instr., from, by; gehende, near; mid, also with instr., together with, among; nēah (also comp. nēar, superl. nīehst), near; of, from, away from, out of; ongemang, onmang, among; oninnan, in, within, into, among; onufan, upon; samod, together with, at (of time); til (NE. dial. tul), to; tō-emnes, alongside, on a level with; tōforan, before, in front of; tōmiddles, in the midst of; wipæftan, behind; wipforan, before; wipūtan, outside, without, except. The following also sometimes govern the acc.: *æt, at, by, in, on, upon; beforan, before, in the presence of; būtan, outside, without, free from; fore, before, in the sight of; tō (also occasionally gen. and instr.), to, into, at, by; wipinnan, within.**

(4) With the accusative and dative: *ābūtan, onbūtan, around, about (of time); begeondan, beyond; behindan, behind; betwēonan, betwēonum, between, among; betweox, betweoh, bet(w)uh, betwih, betwix, between, among; bufan, above, away from; for (also instr.), before, in the sight of, during, for, on account of, instead of; gemang, among, in the midst of; in, in, into, on, among, during; ofer, over, above, beyond, contrary to; on (also instr.), on, in, into, on to, to, among; ongēan, ongeagn, ongegn, ongēn, opposite, in front of, against; onuppan, on, upon; tōgēanes, tōgegnes, tōgēnes, towards, against; under, under, beneath, among; uppan, on, above.*

(5) With the genitive and dative: *tōweard, tōweardes, towards.*

(6) With the accusative, genitive, and dative: *innan, within, in, into; wip, against, towards, to, opposite, near.*

§ 403.

3. CONJUNCTIONS.

(1) Co-ordinate: *ac*, *but*; *and*, *and*; *ægþer* . . . *and*, *ægþer* . . . *ge*, *both* . . . *and*; *ēac*, *also*; *ēac swele* (*swylo*), *swele ēac*, *as also*; *for þām* (*þām*), *for þon*, *for þȳ*, *þonne*, *therefore*; *ge*, *and*; *ge* . . . *ge*, *both* . . . *and*; *hwæþ(e)re*, *þeah*, *swā þeah*, *swā þeah hwæþ(e)re*, *however*; *ne* . . . *ne*, *ne* . . . *ne ēac*, *nāhwæþer ne* . . . *ne*, *neither* . . . *nor*; *oppe*, *or*; *oppe* . . . *oppe*, *either* . . . *or*; *samod* . . . *and*, *both* . . . *and*.

(2) Subordinate: *æfter þām* (*þām*) *þe*, *after*; *ær þām þe*, *before*; *būtan*, *unless*, *unless that*; *for þām* (*þām*) *þe*, *for þon þe*, *for þȳ þe*, *because*; *gelic* *and*, *as if*; *gif*, *if*, *whether*; *hwæþer*, *whether*; *hwæþer þe* . . . *þe*, *whether* . . . *or*; *mid þȳ þe*, *mid þām þe*, *when*, *although*; *nemne*, *nefne*, *nymþe*, *unless*, *except*; *nū þe*, *now that*; *op*, *op þæt*, *op þe*, *until*, *until that*; *swā* . . . *swā*, *so* . . . *as*; *swā swā* . . . *ealswā*, *just* . . . *as*; *swā sōna swā*, *as soon as*; *swā þæt*, *tō þon þæt*, *so that*; *tō þon þe*, *in order that*; *þæs þe*, *sippan þe*, *after*, *since*; *þæt*, *þætte*, *that*, *in order that*; *þā*, *þā þe*, *when*; *þā hwile þe*, *whilst*, *so long as*; *þeah*, *although*; *þeah þe* . . . *swā þeah*, *hwæþ(e)re*, *although* . . . *yet*; *þenden*, *while*; *þonne*, *when*; *þȳ*, *because*; *þȳ þe*, *so that*.

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